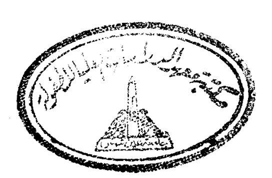


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Table of contents:

Introduction

This edition of "Reading in Mass Communcation" reflects effort of many Kuwait university departement of Mass Communication Faculty members, In particular they attempted to Study several topics related to Arab and Kuwait mass media.

In the first chapter Jamal Al Menayes persented a compartive look at communication education in the United States, Europe and the Arab world. Also Yasin Taha Al yasin's study focuses on communication and the Question of Relationships on chapter 2. Hesham Mesbah presents the effect of News source and time on Memory: The sleeper effect Revisited on chapter 3. Chapter 4 provides visual communication in the digital age by Muwaffaq Abdulmajed. Maher Al Hajjc concentrate on media reading and hegmony on chapter 5. Chaptder 6 provides an important background for Kuwaiti audience's behaviour provided by Yousef Mohamad.

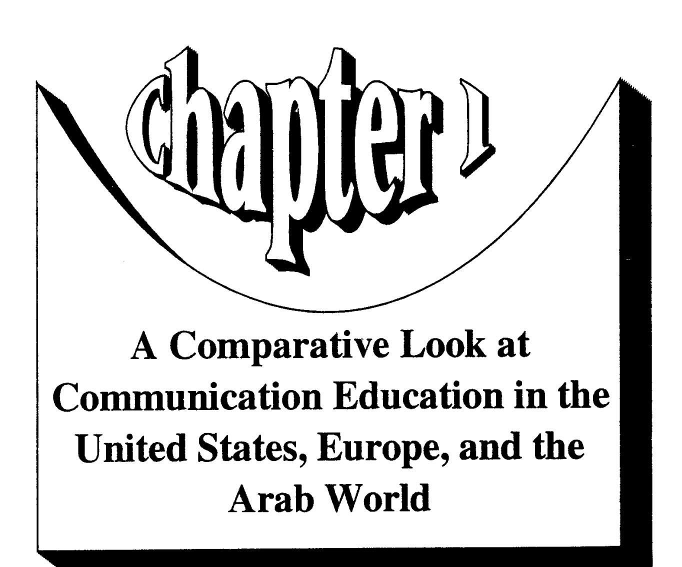
In chapters 7, 8 and 9 Mohammed Moawad and Abdulbasit Muhammed offer data on several topics related to Kuwaiti Media. They include information about the role of satellite television channels in the lives of Kuwaiti Youth, Drama production obstacles on Kuwait TV, and KUNA'S Audio news service via telephone: Applied Research.

In the final chapter Number 10, Nibal Bourisly focuses on the transnational Advertising in Kuwait: How Kuwaiti Women read western advertisements in a local magazene.

We hope That the readers and researchers Find topics of this book useful in the field of Mass communication, in general and in the Arab world in particular, and are looking forward to new publications, Good.

Editors

Kuwaiti, Feb. 2001.



Chapter 1

A Comparative Look at Communication Education in the United States, Europe, and the Arab World

Jamal J. Al-Menayes* Ph.D.

Introduction

Education in the practice of journalism and mass communication is Widespread throughout the world. In some countries, like the United States, it ranges from secondary schools through colleges and universities. In others, as in some Eastern European countries, it is offered only in vocational institutions and continuing education programs. This paper will focus on patterns of curricula in the diverse field of journalism and mass communication in the United states, Europe, and the Arab world. More specifically, I will focus on the philosophies and hisorical circumsrances that contributed to the evolution of journalism education and its current standing in these three parts of the world. In addition, a discussion will be offered of possible future directions.

It should come as no surprize that educating the public is a complex and arduous task. Few can succeed as media practitoner without mastering the fundamentals and practices of broad areas of knowledge that make up the basic components of a university education. Society has become so complex, its functions so numerous, and its divergent relationships so interwoven that only a person with a solid intelligence and an understanding of many facets of the human experience can comprehend the meaning of events. Without understanding, any attempt at reporting or interpreting is not only superficial but dangerous to the security of a free nation.

There is no doubt that the exceptional person can acquire a broad education without the benefit of an institution of higher learning. Many individuals with limited academic backgrounds are demonstrating genuine leadership ability in mass media organisations today. Those are the exceptional few, but for most people the only secure pathway to acquiring knowledge about our world lies in formal courses of instruction in the so-

cial sciences, the natural sciences, and the humanities. Here we discover the precise methodology of the researcher and the scientists and the skills of the writer or artist. We have guided entry into the wealth of knowledge accumulated through the ages.

Acquiring such education has special significance to future communicators. For they are exposed to areas of knowledge and thought that afford them the possibility to become seasoned persons of discriminating taste in their own right. From these experiences they can gain sound working knowledge of society and develop a sensitivity to the myriad of problems it faces.

Communication Education in the United States

Students wishing to Prepare for a career in mass communication in the United States may follow several pathways toward reaching their goal. The most common way is to enroll in a school or department of journalism or communication offering a four-year program leading to a degree in journalism. Approximately 300 colleges and universities in the United States offer such courses of study. Some of these institutions lave provided independent administrative units (colleges, schools, divisions) for their journalism or communication program. Most, however, have housed the school or department of journalism or communication within the liberal arts college. In either case, students typically take no more than 30 percent of their course work in journalism or coummunications within the liberal college; the rest is distributed among the social sciences, humanities, and natural sciences, as well as physical education and extracurricular activites. Thus, students elect a major specialization in professional studies that gives them instruction in basic communication skills and in social science oriented courses that relate journalism and communication to society. This is done much in the same way a student chooes a major in biology, physics, sociology or English- and they are no more specialized in one field than are these others.

The Development of communication Education in the Unites States:

Journalism, a relatively young field among university disciplines, made its presence felt in U.S. college education early in this century. Formal education was a necessary outcome of the steadily increasing complexities of the growing industrial society, which demanded highly trained personnel on American newspaper staffs. General Robert E. Lee of the U.S army is credited with proposing the first special college education for printer-editors in 1869 in his capacity as president of Washington College, now Washington and lee University. His proposal, however, went unheeded as did many others in the northwestern territories at that time.[1]

The first four-year curriculum for journalism students was established at the University of Wisconsin in 1904. The same year a similar program was introduced at the University of Illinois. Four year later, the first srparate school of jouranlism was founded at the University of Missouri by an experienced journalist, Dean Walter Williams. In 1912, the Columbia University School of Jouranalim opened doors with an endowment of $2 million from publisher joseph pulitzer. By that year, more than 30 colleges and universities were offering training in journalism.

Early courses journalism were largely vocational in nature as instructors sought to prepare students for careers in newspapers, then the principal medium of mass communication. During the 1920s, however, there was a shift in emphais away from technique and toward an interest in the social, ethical, and cultural aspects of journalism. Courses in the history and the ethics of journalim increased in popularity, so did studies of the press and society, interpretation of current affairs, and public opinion.

These courses, along with those dealing with international news channels and legal aspects of the press, increased the stature of journalism

as a discipline among other college teachers. At the same time, graduates from journalism schools were gaining acceptance from reluctant employers on top of the newspaper hierarchy. Teachers began to offer courses to prepare students in specialized fields such as newspaper management, advertising and photography. While acknowledging the importance of the humanities and the natural sciences in the general curricula, teachers began to assume a close working relationship with the social sciences.

As subject matter in journalism increased both in breadth and depth, masters' degrees were offered. In 1935, the journalim school at Columbia University reserved its one year program exclusively for those holding a bachelors degree. Three years later, the Medill School of Northwestern University inaugurated a five year plan for professional training in journalim. Graduate study in journalism flourished at a rapid pace after the Second World War, fueled by an urgent need for advanced training in both journalim and the social sciences. Graduates of these programs found employment either as educators as professional journalists, and in many cases they were both.[3]

At the doctoral level most graduate schools that recognized journalim as a discipline followed the lead of the University of Wisconsin in providing a minorora double minor in journalism for students who generally majored in fields such as history or political science. The University of Missouri, on the other hand, was the first institution to award the degree of Doctor of Philosphy in Journalim in 1934, followes by other programs in the 1940s. Some of these programs were based on strong supporting emphais on the social sciences; others related the study of mass communication to psychology and sociology as a behavioral science. In 1988, the Ph.D. degree in mass communication was offered at 19 U.S. universities. Some Ph.D. recipients entered the communication industry or other research areas, but the majority became faculty memebers.[4]

The surge of the philosphy that journalim and communication schools should develop research scholars capable of critical analysis of the media and their social environments, coupled with the growth of the television industry increased the importance of departments of speech communication and radio-television in preparing professionals for broadcast careers. New, integrated academic units came into existence, some simply for administrative convenience, but most devoted to the serious study of communication as the common focus connecting several academic areas of study. For example, Michigan State University joined its speech communication, journalism, advertising, and broadcast programs together into a College of Communication Arts, with a research unit at its core. The University of Texas followed a similar path by establishing a School of communication to house its various communication related programs. Today, "Communication" or "Communications" is a part of the name of many instructional units at U.S. universities.

Standards of Communication Education in the United States

Like many professionally oriented academic disciplines, journalism education has standards formulated by accrediting organizations. This is done by two organizations, the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) and the Association of schools in journalim and Mass Communication (ASJMC). Both organizations have representatives on the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC), with headquarters at the University of Missouri at Columbia. The agency is formally recognized by the Council on Post-seconday Accreditation and the U.S Office of Education for accreditation of programs for professional education in Journalism and mass communication in institutions of higher learning in the United States[5].

The council publishes an annual booklet outlining the standards and procedures of accreditation and listing schools and departments that have

attained undergraduate and graduate (master's degree) professional accreditation, as well as units in which particular sequences of study have been accredited. Over 80 schools have school-wide or sequence accreditation, The sequences include advertising, broadcast news, magazine, news-editorial, photojournalism, public relations, publishing, and visual communication.

The Interational Communicaltion Association (ICA), formed more than 30 years ago, brings together faculty, professional, and students whose interest is focused on human communication. ICA publishes two journals, The Journal of communication and Human Communication Reearch, and a newsletter. Its divisions are information system, and interpersonal, mass, organizational, intellectual, political, instructional, and health communication.

In addition to the associations mentioned above, there are more than 20 other oganizations whose interests lie mainly in journalim and communication. These include the National Association of Broadcasters, National Newspaper Pubilshers Assiociation, public Relations Society of America, and Society of Professional Journalists to name but a few.

Journalim Education in Secondary Schools in the United States

Journalism training at the secondary school level is widely available in the U.S. The best estimates are approximately 45,000 high schools publications are issued regularly. More than one million students work on these publications. About 175,000 students are enrolled each year in journalism courses offered at approximately 5000 high schools. Many others learn the principles of radio and television production in classes and activity clubs, and in working with cable outlets in their communities.[6]

A recent development in secondary journalism education is the introducation of numerous high school courses designed to familiarize students with the operations of the mass media and to consider the effects of mass communication on their lives. These courses, offered through language,

arts, speech, journalim and other departments, have been one of the primary causes behind the continuing growth in mass communication enrollments in colleges and universities.

Several organizations issue publications and guide books for teachers and students and contuct critical services providing professional evaluation and ratings of school media. They include the National Scholastic Press Association and the Columbia Scholastic Press Association. They publish, respectively *Scholastic Editor, and School Press Review*.

Communication Education in Europe

Communication education in Europe is experiencing a sweeping movement toward collaboration and possible standardization. This new phase that resumbles earlier developments in the United States, offers alternate models for the future training of professional communicators.

The transformations occuring in Europe are mostly the result of "European thinking" associated with the creation of a common market at the end of 1992 and the resulting monetary and possible political union during the following decade. This new way of thinking has been a driving force behind unprecedented efforts to exchange ideas and collaborations in the area of journalism education. Most striking among these efforts is the development of the European journalism Training Association (EJTA). Chief among the functions of EJTA is the attempt to standardize programs and provide initial evaluations of journalim training offered in several European countries today.

The Development of Communication Education in Europe

There are vast differences among European countries in terms of educational principles and programs, which makes any attempt to lump them together in one category an exercise in taxonomical confusion. In Greece, for example, becoming a journalist has more to do with connections, luck and vocational testing than with formal education. In Denmark, on the oth-

er hand, 80 percent of all journalists pass through the one and only nationally accredited Journalisthojskole in Arhus.[7]

Generally speaking, in Europe there are three different pathways in professional journalism: (a) no formal education at all, (b) on the job or vocational school training, and (c) formal university education in journalism and communication science. The percentage of journalists following each of these pathways has changed dramatically in the past three decades. After the Second World War, the usual way to start a career in journalism was to start working without any from of instruction in the press or the media. Today, that way is rapidly dropping in popularity, though it is still an option in several European countries. The reason behind this is higher diversification and specialization of the various media and the existence of a competitive market that requires professionals.[8]

Though its quality is uneven, strictly vocational by experienced journalists continues to be an important type of journalism education in Europe. Still, formal education in journalism countinues to gain ground in several parts of Europe. In the United Kingdom, which has long been considered the stronghold of on - the - job training philosophy, learning - by - doing is now complemented by a number of courses or correspondence lessons and is controlled by final examinations. Italy also controls the quality of education provided by on-the job training through a national final examination that all journalists must pass. In Germany, journalists' unions were able to reach an educational "collective agreement" that requires theoretical courses as part of a systematic training program by the newspaper and broadcast industries.[9]

The increasing number of independent professional journalism schools after the Second World War in symptomatic of the growing importance given to educational standardization. France has vast experience with this approach through the Ecole Superieure de Journalisme in Lille (founded in 1924) and the Paris Centre de Formation des journalists

(founded in 1946). In Italy, the Milan ısuıuto par la Fromazione al Giornalismo, which began operating in 1977, soon received widespread acceptance among journalism professionals. German vocational centers, like the Deutsche Journalistenschule in Munich (founded in 1959) and the Henri-Nannen- Schule in Hamburg (founded in 1986), offer journalism training that is highly demanded by both students and employers.[10]

Some of these independent vocational schools collaborate with universities to provide specialized instruction in fields such as economics or political science. Other serve as technical colleges and as such are parts of the higher education system in each country. Examples include the French School in Lille, the Institut des Hautes Etudes des communications Sociale in Brussels, the Napier College in Edinburgh, and the Escola Superior de Journalismo in Porto (Portugal). Academics often teach the courses that augment the on-job training in Germany and the United Kingdom.

The Third pathway to journalism training in Europe is university study in journalism and mass communication. Few people disagree that this type of education, which follows the American model, has changed and will continue to change the landscape of European journalism training in a most fundamental way. It will reinforce the already existing move to combine practical skills and analytical abilities, elevate the current standard of what a trained journalist should know, and standardize educational goals.

The difference between the European philosophy of journalism education outside the university and journalism education within the university in the U.S. is a reflection of the storng historical differences between American and European universities regarding the teaching of practical or vocational subjects. Veysey endnote no. 11 has argued that three distinct concepts of the university began to from in the period following the Civil War in the United States: (a) the aim of practical public service, (b) abstract research on what was considered to be the German model, and (c) an atte-

mpt to cultivate standards of high taste. Although, these are hardly unique aims, the first goal of public service through science was less "European" than the other two.

In the American case, journalim education became part of university training with heavy emphasis on vocational training that only later gave way to academically oriented subjects. Interestingly, European journalism programs, now entering into universities, find their home in research centers and institutes of mass communication. A process that is exactly the reverse of that of the U.S. although the end result may very well be the same.

In all of Western Europe, departments of journalism have sprung up within universities in recent years. Unlike in the seventies when the Padagogische Hochschule Ruhr (Dortmund) was the only institute of higher learning in Germany, today several German universities contain units providing such training. These programs exist in Hamburg, Stuttgart, Hannover, Mainz and Munich. In addition, several German universities, including the University of Munster and Free University in Berlin, have departments of media studies, which provide professional journalism instruction.[12]

Belgium. Portugal and Switzerland also have journalism training units at the universites. Similary, in Ireland (Dublin City University, since 1982; University college Galway, since 1989) and in Greece (University of Athens; University of Pantios, both since 1990), where journalism education is the least regulated, training centers have found homes in academic settings.

Nevertheless, it remains the case that in Europe today the emphasis in university journalism education is largely vocational in nature. Indpendent journalism schools, however, are gradually losing their fear of "academic thinking" thus contributing to the rise in the educational level of journalists in Europe. Schools like ESJ in Lille, for example, demand a

French university diploma for enrollment. Similar trends can be spotted in Britain and Italy.

Standards of communication Education in Europe

While the trend towards standardization in Europe is highly visible, national peculiarities continue to exist. In Britain, for example, a great emphasis is still being given to shorthand skills, while in France knowledge of a foreign language is a compulsory requirement for journalism trainees. The role of communication science is more important in German than in British or Irish journalism departments. But in general, news gathering, techniques of interviewing, media rhetoric, news and feature writing, newspaper and broadcast production are part of any educational model.[13]

In 1990, a number of journalism schools from Britain, Germany, Denmark, Spain and the Netherlands gathered force and formed a network called "Gutenberg". The Gutenberg network functions as Interuniversity Cooperation Program. Sponsored by the European commission Fund, the member institutions formed special European options as extensions of their regular curriculum. While slightly different in form and content the fundamental goals are the same:

- to make future journalists feel responsible for what was termed the "European house",
- to allow them to discover common interests as well as national peculiarities, and above all,
- to enable them to understand how the European community administration in Brussels, Strasborg, and Luxembourg functions.

Gutenberg is on its way to becoming the most active within the European Journalism Training Association (EJTA), which was founded in 1990 in Brussels. EJTA has seen its membership grow from 22 academic institutions in 1990 to 38 in 1992, an increase of over 40 percent. Its aim is *"to enable the journalism training centers involved to collaborate in a*

regular manner to encourage the emergence of European consciousness".[14]

To achieve that purpose, the member institutions started several initiatives. Among them:

1. Organizing exchanges of staff and students between member schools.
2. Attempting to join together journalism professionals and journalism educators.
3. conducting workshops and conventions on media related topics.
4. Launching an international internship program to allow students to go abroad.
5. Collaborating in the field of documentation and the production of common journals and magazines.

EJTA is also striving to encourage pan-European research projects. Its focus is primiarly to discover and to report on the state of European journalism and journalism training today in Western Europe. EJTA member schools produce Euromedia, a data base providing current information on European print and broadcastmedia.

EJTA membership is limited to institutions. Each journalism training center that a curriculum of professional and practical training in both print and broadcast media are eligible for membership. Commercial organizations, however, do not qualify for membership.

Upon application for membership, and Assoiciation representative will visit the applying institution. Member schools existing in the same country as the applicant are also asked to evaluate the program and submit a report. The final decision on membership is made at the annual general meeting of EJTA.

The initial steps towards certification of journalism education resemble those carried out in the U.S. earlier in this country. Whether Europe will follow the same path and develop a fully fledged accrediting system

similar to that of the U.S. still remains to be seen. It is clear, however, that the concerns in Europe today about standards mirror those both of an earlier era and of today in the United States.

Communication Education in the Arab World

Individuals wishing to pursue a career in journalism in the Arab world have two options, on the job training or formal university education in a department or college of communications. About 20 colleges and universities in the Arab world provide some from of training in communications. Students typically entroll in a four-year program leading to the bachelor of arts degree in journalism or mass communication. The amount of training devoted exclusively to communication studies varies drastically depending on the educational system followed by each country. In the European model followed by countries like Egypt and Morroco students choose a major in journalism and enroll in a four-year course devoted primarily to that major. However, in countries like Kuwait and Saudi Arabia where the American system is adopted, students distribute their course work between a major in communication and a minor in a related field such as sociology or political science. However, regardless of country, all prorams contain some emphasis on skill or professionally oriented courses.

The Development of Communication Education in the Arab World

The begining of communication education in the Arab world can be traced to the establishment of a department of journalism at the American University in cairo in 1935. Five years later, Cairo university launched its own program when it created the High Institute for Journalism and Translation that in 1954 became the department of jouranlism.

For a decade cairo had a virtual monopoly on journalism education in the Arab world. This soon changed when journalism departments were created in Tunisia, Algeria, Sudan, lraq, and Lebanon. The seventies saw an outburst in journalism education when seven departments came into ex-

istence, four of them in consecutive years, in Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Libya and Egypt. The same decade saw the revitalization of programs that were previously suspended for various reasons, such as the ones in the American University In Cairo and Baghdad University.[15]

Another feature of the seventies was the replacement of the word "journalism" with the more general term "communication" as departments sought to ameliorate their programs to come abreast with world standards. The use of the word "communication" also reflected change in the curricula which were expanded to include courses in media and society, media ethics, and communication theory in addition to professional training.

By 1980, the Arab world had fifeen academic units dedicated to the study of communication in one form or another. These were located in Tunisia, Algeria, Saudi Arabia, sudan, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates. In 1992 Kuwait University established its own Department of Mass Communication housed in the College of Arts.

The structure of units offering communication training in the Arab world varies from one country to another. In general, five forms can be identified which can be summarized in the following:

1- **A department in the College of Arts:** This is the most common form and it can be found in King Abdulaziz University and King Khalid University in Saudi Arabia, Umm Durman University in sudan, Baghdad University, Benghazi University in Libya, Asyoot University in Egypt, United Arab Emirates University and Kuwait University.

2- **A College within a university:** Only two colleges of communication exist in the Arab worls. The first is the College of Communication and Documentation in the Lebanese University and the second is the College of Communication in Cairo University. The college usually includes departments of television and radio, journalism, public relations and advertising.

3- **An institute within a university:** This form is usually adopted when communication education is emphasized at the graduate level. This is the case in the Institute of Journalism at Tunisia University and the Institute for political and communication Sciences at the University of Algeria.

4- **A unit within a department:** This form is usually indicates that the institution does not offer a major in communication or journalism, but perhaps a minor or elective courses, as is the case with the American University in Beirut. Few exceptions to this pattern do exist. They include the unit of mass communication at Alexandria University and Mass Communication unit at the University of Qatar. Both of these units offer a degree granting program in communication.

5- **A graduate institute of communication:** As the name indicates such institution offers communication training exclusively at the graduate level. Such as the case in the High Institute for Da'awa at Imam Muhammed Bin Sa'ud in Saudi Arabia.[16]

Standards of communication Education in the Arab World:

While no trend towards standardization appears to be visible in the Arab world, common characteristics are evident. These can be summarized in the following:

1- The shift in academic units from the study of print journalism alone to a broader realm which includes broadcast, public relations and advertising.

2- The increasing attention being given to the study of communication as a process which has to be understood in its social and cultural contexts.

These trends were reflected in the makeup of curricula which include more social science oriented courses in addition to professional training. The effect can also be seen in the names of academic units which dropped

the title "Journalism" in favor of the more encompassing term "communication". However, there are exceptions to this trend like the programs at Alazhar University and Tunisian University who still continue to use the title "journalism" to identify their respective departments.

Another commonality among the various Arab programs is that study tends to be "general" in the first two years of enrollment. This is followed by "specialized" studies in the remainder of course (e.g. Cairo University, Bengazi University, Algeria University). This occurs despite the chronic shortage of Specialized faculty in some areas such as public relations and advertising. This shortage forced some institutions to offer only general training in communications (e.g. Asyoot University, Umm Durman University).[17]

Few Arab universities have opted to implement the American system of credit hours. King Abdulaziz University and King Khalid University in Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates University and Kuwait University are but a few examples of institutions favoring this system. This, of course, is in addition to the American universities in Cairo and Beirut. The credit system has the advatage of giving students some freedom in choosing the type as well as the number of subjects they can take at any given time. This allows each student to set his own pace based on his ability and interest. The down side, however, is that freedom of choice requires the availability of a large number of courses in each term and the faculty to teach them. The shortage of qualified faculty is one of the most serious challenges facing the credit system in the Arab world today.

Another discernible trend in curricula is the combination of communication studies with lslamic studies. Several institutions felt the need to teach communication within an lslamic framework. Most prominent among these are Alazhar University in Cairo and Iman Mohammed Bin Sa'ud University in Saudi Arabia. The philosophy behind these programs is based on the propagation of lslamic faith using modern mass media. The curricula in these programs usually follow one of two patterns:

1- A combination of courses on Islamic thought and culture, and courses in media related subjects. Here students enroll in courses such as "Islamic Shariaa" and "The Prophet's Seera" together with courses in television production and media management (e.g. Imam Mohammed University).

2- An amalgamation of Islamic and media subject matters. Here students take courses that intermarry Islamic priniciples with modern mass communication concepts. The outcome is courses like "Mass communication Theories in Islam", "History of Islamic Journalism" and "Mosque Radio" (e.g. Alazhar University).

It is not clear which of these patterns is best suited to achieve the stated goal of preparing the professional communicator who believes in the Islamic faith and willing to spread it using modern means. One of the most pressing issues facing these programs is whether this type of preparation should be done at the undergraduate or at the graduate level.

Proponents of the "graduate training only" argument suggest that students should be well versed in Islam before undertaking any training in communication. While opponents argue that graduate training will keep potential preachers too long in school. Furthermore, vast expertise in islam is not necessary for the professional communicator who can always consult with specilists when needed.

Al- Azhar University opted for the first option when in 1993 it suspended the undergraduate program in journalism. It was then replaced with a graduate program (diploma level) that would accept students who are well versed in Islam and train them in the field of communication.

The language used in communication instruction represents another key face issue facing acedemic programs in the Arab world. Most institutions use Arabic as the primary medium of instruction. However, there are exceptions which exist largely in North Africa. The universities in Tunis

and Algeria rely mainly on French in their programs.Most lectures and examinations are carried out in French. This is not surprising since in Tunisia, for example, five newspapers are published daily, three of which are in French. This, in addition to academic journals which are also published in French. The Tunisian Institute of Journalism publishes "The Tunisian Journal for communication Studies" partly in French. It also published "Dialogue", a magazine dedicated to media related issues, wholly in French. Arabization of curricula is one of the major challenges facing these institutions today.

The American universities both in Cairo and Beirut use English as the primary language of instruction. This gives students the advantage of being exposed to state of the art research and books published in that language. The drawback, however, is all of this happens at the expense of the students mother tongue. Some have obeserves that graduates of these two institutions are well below average in their command of Arabic. As a result, they tend to favor employment in interational organisations where their contact with Arabic is kept to a minimum.

Conclusion and Future Directions

One cannot put enough emphasis on the critical need for coordination among institutions in the Arab world. The absence of standards for communication education in this region is a problem which has reached critical proportions. Most institutions have launched their programs without prior consultation with either media organizations or press associations. In many cases this leads to graduates who do not possess the necessary preparation to work in local media organizations.

Another problem is related to funding. It is not a revelation that modern communications rely on rather expensive media technology. Communication departments are often unable to provide the appropriate training to students because they cannot afford the necessary equipment. To overcome this problem many institutions train their students in local media or-

ganizations. This, however, is not nearly sufficient because instructors do not have enough control over the type of training students receive. This is especially true in the case of broadcast training where the media are governement owned. Here, both student and instructor are at the mercy of bureaucratic procedures and time constraints.

A third problem is the lack of a sufficient number of qualified faculty who posses the Ph.D. degree. It is worth noting that several Arab universities have doctoral programs in Journalism or communications (e.g. Cairo University, Asyoot university). However, given the monetary and manpower constraints, it is doubtful that these programs have the necessary resources to be competitive with similar ones in the United States or Europe. Despite the admirable efforts of several Arab researchers, the fact remains that there isn't a body of work large enough in Arabic to support a high quality graduate program. unfortunately, most quality scholarly work is pubilshed in English, and unless a program relies primarly on English as the language of instruction, its caliber will remain in question. The lack of research libraies in these intitutions alone could seriously compromise the quality of any graduate program.

This paper does not presume to offer solutions to the myriad of problems communication programs face in the Arab world. It can, however, shed some light on possible pathways to follow based on the American and European experiences. with regards to the problem of standardization, for example, one may consider the example set by the "Gutenberg" network in Europe. A possible solution to the lack of communication between academic institutions in the Arab world is to establish an interuniversity cooperation program. This initiaive could be sponsored by Arab organizations such as the Arab Organization for Education, Science and Culture. Such network could, in priniciple, foster the spirit of cooperation between member institutions. It could also allow members to discover common interests as well as national peculiatities. From this network other intiatives

can be made possible like the establishment of an accrediting counsel, the exchange of staff and students, and conducting workshops and conventions. When the spirit of cooperation prevails the possibilities are virtually endless.

Creative alternatives could also be explord to alleviate the problem of funding. Instead of relying mainly on government support, institutions could turn to the private sector for assistance. Companies could be lobbied to finance projects wholly or in part. In addition, international organizations can be approached for technical and financial support. This has already been done in some universities. In Tunisia, for example, the "Ali Bash Hane Institute" was established in 1964 with a grant from The F. Naumann Foundation of Germany. Similarly, the Fullbright Foundation of the United States has long sponsored exchange and assistance programs with Cairo University.

The most difficult problem to tackle head on is the shortage of highly qualified faculty. We have already noted that the handfual of programs which offer the Ph. D. degree in the Arab world suffer tremendously from the lack of human and material resources. As a consequence, the quality of training and supervision doctoral canditates receive also suffers. To fill the gap, several institutions have resorted to sending candidates to study abroad, mainly in the U.S. and Europe. Kuwait University, for example, relies exclusively on this approach to fulfill its need of national faculty members. The same apporach is followed by most universities in the Gulf region where financial constraints are at a minimum. Where fincacial resources are in short supply, institutions sould take advantage of scholarship programs that are often offered by froeign governments and foundations.

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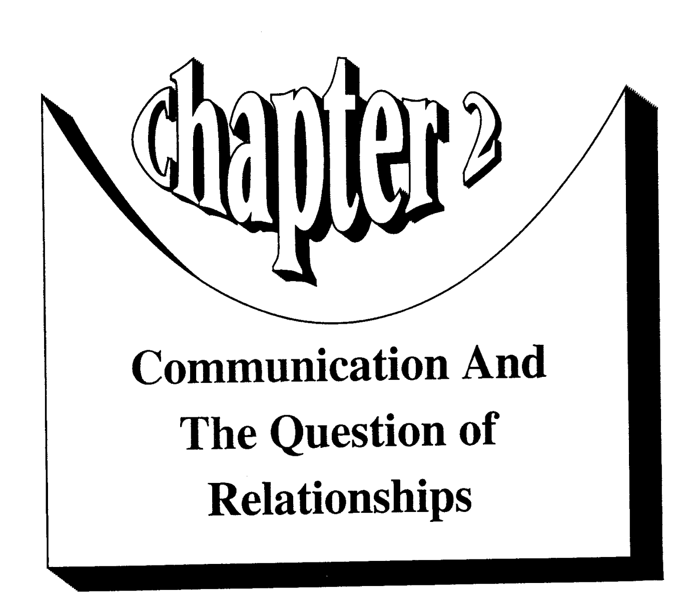
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by
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Many researchers have studied the movement of interpersonal relationships from initial interactions to intimacy, but little attention has been given to relationships in which intimacy is not the primary goal. Interactions between students and teachers, doctors and patients, and salespersons and customers, for example, may never achieve the intensity of stable exchange (Altman & Taylor 1973), the personal phase (Berger & Calabrese, 1975), or interpersonal understanding (Berger, et. al., 1976), all of which assume a gradual procession of a relationship toward intimacy. Many relationships stabilize at a non-intimate level which is satisfying and rewarding for both people involved. Crockett and Friedman (1980) question the lack of research into the course of these stable relationships and the developmental course which they follow. The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, it is an attempt to explain why interpersonal research should focus on relationships which achieve stability rather than intimacy. Second, it proposes a tentative theory of the development of stable relationships which incorporates three concepts: the context of the relationship, the purposeful nature of behavior; and the level of informational exchange in the relationship.

Two reasons exist for the investigation of stable relationships. Many theorists do not incorporate an explanation of the processes involved in the formation and maintenance of stable relationships. The existing theories are also limited by a consideration of similarity of attitudes and the rational analysis of rewards and costs, which directs attention away from other important variables likes the content and situational norms of the relationship. Both of these reasons require further explanation.

Theories which attempt to isolate the processes involved in interpersonal communication do not include a complete consideration of relation-

ships which do not proceed toward intimacy. Frequently some reference is made to the fact that a relationship may not proceed beyond a certain stage, but there is no attempt made to examine the reasons why this occurs. Altman and Taylor (1973) have structured their four stages (orientation, exploratory affective exchange, affective exchange, and stable exchange) around the assumption that as relationships develop, increasingly intimate layers of information are revealed. They propose that people use this information to forecast the implication of future interactions as still deeper levels of exchange (i.e. more intimate levels). They do not include an examination of relationships in which intimacy and forecasting are not central concerns.

Berger and Calabrese (1975) discuss the entry, personal and exit phases of a relationship which trace the movement from superficial (demographic) kinds of information to information centering on attitudinal issues, personal problems, and basic values. The emphasis of the theory is on the movement from one stage to another. Relationships which stabilize in the entry (superficial) phase are beyond the scope of the discussion, for no explanation is given as to the possibility of a relationship stopping its development at a level within one of their stages.

Roloff (1976) makes a distinction between interpersonal and non-interpersonal relationships. Interpersonal relationships are based on psychological (intimate) information, while non-interpersonal relationships are based on cultural and sociological (demographic) information. Roloff admits that non-interpersonal relationships are common and useful to us, but he does not include an extensive discussion of the strategies (i.e. attempts to obtain relational rewards) that are employed in the development of these relationships. His discussion primarily focuses on the strategies involved in interpersonal relationships.

The concept of management proposed by Knutson, Sorensen, and Andriate (1979) provides a better explanation of the processes involved in acheiving stability than the theories previously discussed. Knutson, et. al. propose an operant approach to the study of interpersonal communication in which the emphasis is on predictable, controllable, and desirable (lawful) behaviors which are governed by explicit or implicit rules which control the delivery of consequences (contingencies). The management stage is characterized by contingencies which are a function of specific individuals. The crucial concept in this approach is the application of different rules for different relationships. Thus, the relationship which proceeds toward stability is governed by different contingencies than the relationship which proceeds toward intimacy. The concept of management does not incorporate the reasons for the differences in rules that exist, and for this reason is not an adequate description of the development and maintence of stable relationships.

The second reason for the study of stable relationships is that existing theories concentrate on variables which apply primarily to the formation of intimate relationships. Existing theories place too much emphasis on assessments of similarity - dissimilarity and rewards and costs to the exclusion of the consideration of the context in which the relationship takes place (Delia, 1980). Balance theory (Newcomb, 1955) and uncertainty reduction (Berger & Calebrese, 1975) both incorporate the similarity of attitudes between people as an important component in the development of a relationship. Berger and Calebrese propose that an inverse relationship exists between similarity and uncertainty, from which they theorize that similarity is positively related to intimacy. Newcomb proposes that coorientation (balance) is achieved in a relationship when two people possess

similar attitudes toward a stimulus object. Both balance theory and uncertainty reduction incorporate similarity as a controlling factor in the formation and maintence of relationships.

Similarity is not a consideration in most stable relationships because the contextual considerations (contingencies) are of overriding importance in the maintenance of such a relationship. The context involves all of the components of the environment in which the relationship takes place, and includes situational norms and expectations which are culturally determined. These norms (or rules) place limitations on the degree to which a relationship can develop within a given context. Situational norms and expectations are also a part of an individual cognitive make up acquired through the process of acculturation and socialization (Delia, 1980). They become an instrumental aspect of the way an individual views and interprets the world around him. To the extent that these contextual limits are applied to the formation of a relationship which moves toward stability, they take precedence over considerations similarity. Thus, the outcome of a medical examination will not be affected if the doctor and patient belong to different political parties. They can enjoy a long association without having agreed about anything except the kinds of behavior the context of the medical examination leads them to expect and, consequently, exhibit.

Moreover, theories which propose that interatants actively and consciously assess rewards and costs (Altman & Taylor, 1973; Roloff, 1976) make the relationships seem more rational and self - aware than may actually be the case (Delia, 1980) The extent to which an individual is actually conscious of these assessments, and the frequency with which they occur is questionable. Berger (1980) notes that self - awareness of these evaluative processes may be related to the context of the interaction. Thus, as

contexts differ in terms of rules and limitations, the amount of awareness of rewards and costs will also differ. It appears reasonable to assert that a person involved in a job interview would be more aware of the rewards and codes associated with his behavior than would someone who is engaged in a discussion of the weather with a neighbour. Situational norms exert more control over the formal atmosphere of the job interview than the informal nature of the conversation with the neighbour.

A theory of interpersonal communication which focuses on relationships which achieve stability rather than intimacy must include the consideration of the contexts of relationships which current theories have frequently neglected. In addition, this paper proposes that such a theory would also have to include a consideration of the purposeful nature of communication and the levels of information which are exchanged within a relationship.

The assumption of an existing relationship between purposeful behavior and information is prevalent in communication theories. Kelly (1955) views every man as a scientist whose ultimate aim is to predict and control his environment. Millar and Rodgers (1976) see people as intentional agents who actively create their environments. Delia, O'Keefe, and O'Keefe (1980) believe that people approach the world through the processes of interpretation. Most researchers agree that information is collected and sorted as a means of acquiring predictive capabilities, but they differ in the sytstems they use to catalogue and organize this information. Berger and Calabrese (1975) indicate that increases in the amount of information one possesses will lower the level of uncertainty in a given situation. Altman and Taylor (1973) propose that it is synthesized according to reward/ cost considerations. Roloff (1976) relates information gathering to

the possible strategier one can employ to gain control within a relationship. All of these applications are valid for relationships which proceed toward intimacy, but none of them provide valuable insight into the formation of stable relationships because they also rely on the concepts of intimacy, similarity, and rewards and costs.

The hierarchies of information proposed by Duck (1976) provide a useful structure for explaining the processes involved in relationships which move toward stability, not intimacy. Duck (1976: 129) proposes that "some of these levels of information are typically suited to interacting individuals at some points of interaction and not others". Thus, the stages in the development of a relationship can be induced from the level of the information being exchanged. Furthermore, Duch (1976: 133) related the levels of information exchange to the context of the relationship.

> "... the history and past experiences of both receiver and transmitter probably influence not only how each chooses to deal with his or her side of the interpersonal communication process but also the outcomes of the interaction for each. One way that this occurs is clearly a function of the information provided by context..."

Not only are different levels of information related to the different stages in a relationship, but the context is also an important determinant of the outcomes of the interaction.

The development of a relationship which moves toward stability can be viewed as proceeding from intial, demographic levels of information exchange through successive levels until the contextual limitations of the particular relationship are reached. The relationship becomes stable at this point. This theory requires the assumption of purposeful behavior on the part of the people involved because the information must be sought out and

interpreted in terms of the existing norms and stabilization will only occur if the interactants recognize the existence of the pertinent context limitations. This information - based theory better explains the development of stable relationships than those discussed earlier, because information search is not contingent upon questions of similarity, intimacy, or rewards and costs.

Many relationships do not automatically escalate toward intimacy. There are innumerable levels of interpersonal communication between initial interaction and eventual intimacy at which relationships may stabilize. Existing theories of interpersonal communication do not contain useful explanations of the processes involved during the development of these stable relationships. These existing theories also incorporate the concepts of intimacy, similarity and rewards and costs which are not applicable to the study of relationships which reach stability. The proposed model which relates the levels of information exchange and the contexts of specific relationsips represents a tentative attempt to build a theoretical approach to explain the process of stabilized relationships. It is a theory which recognizes the fact that different variables and norms operate in situations that are stable as opposed to those which proceed toward intimacy. In the future, researchers need to develop further explanations for the distinctive characteristics of relationships which tend toward stability.

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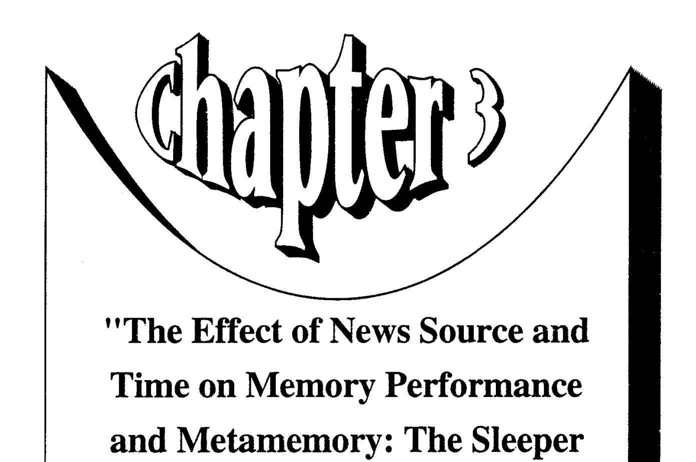
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"The Effect of News Source and Time on Memory Performance and Metamemory: The Sleeper Effect Revisited"

Hesham M. Mesbah, Ph.D.



Introduction

From which news medium can audiences acquire information best? To what extent does the news source affect receivers' feelings of knowing? Will the effect of a given news source on confidence in knowledge, if any, stay over time?.

Exposure to either print or electronic news media is almost a daily habit for an average person in today's world. Computerized news transmitted via networks and online services led to more diversification in news presentations. Such diversity inspired many scholars to investigate the comparative effectiveness of news media on memory processes. The study reported here examines the effect of exposure to different news media on the variance in subjects' levels of recall immediately after expousr and two hours later. The three media used in the experiment are television, newspapers, and computer. Special attention to subjects' metamemory, or their awareness of what they have learned is also given in this paper. Meatmemory is tested immediately after expodure, and two hours later.

Background

The measurement of mass midia effects vitally involves message processing issues. Information acquisition, measured by recall and comprehension of the received message, indicates that an effect has occurred. Many interrelated factors intervene to either minimize or maximize such a cognitive effect, however. The relative effectiveness of different media on how much information people retain from the news has been the the research problem for a plethora of communication studies. Each news source has its own unique mechanica[1] and contextual characteristics that affect the perception and interpretationof news. This is why McLuhan pointed

out in the sixties that "the medium is the message,"limplying that "what wecommonly think of as the message is transmitted by some medium which, because of its mechanical nature, sends a simultaneous message".[2]

However, the reason behind this comparative effectiveness of news sources might be more multifaceted than how McLuhan put it. Mechanical nature of a given news medium is one thing, and its contextual features that characterize exposure to it is another thing. A newspaper occupies space and is there whenever needed, whereas broadcast media are volatile. Some experimental studies purported to control this factor. Stauffer et al. (1980) divided their subjects into viewers, listeners, and readers. Each group was exposed once to a variety of news stories. The readers were not allowed to read the story more than once, yet they showed better levels of recall.[3] Applying a similar design, Gunter and his colleagues (1984) came up with consistent findings.[4]

Wichs and Drew (1986), on the other hand, did not find differences between television and newspapers in terms of subsquent recall levels.[5] They attributed this equality between the two media to the experimental condition that differ from normal exposure at home. Accordingly, contextual factors might not be sufficient in explaining this variance in news recall among news consumers. In a later study, wicks (1995) found out that subjects exposed to certain stories by way of television recorded higher recall scores immediately after exposure and two days later. He suggested that televised images might have this potential of "stimulating accelerated recall better than do equivalent newspaper stories[6].

Another group of studies revealed that the "cognitive processing requirements" explain the superiority of printed materials over electronically - presented materials. The Process of reading requires more cognitive ef-

forts, and this results in better levels of knowledge acquisition. Gavriel Solmon (1984) found that learning from printed materials was better than learning from television among children. He based his explanation for this result on the way children perceive both media. Television for them is an easy medium that does not require the same cognitive effort exerted while reading[7]. Kathy Pezdek and her colleagues (1987) showed similar results among adults.[8] This might explain the evidence from the accumulated literature that reflects the superioriy of newspaper presentations over televised presentations (M. DeFleur et al., 1992; D. Graber, 1988; McLeod et al., 1982; E. Wilson, 1974).

According to the concept of "cognitive processing requirements," newspapers are cognitively superior because they are read, not because of the context in which they are consumed. When an electronic medium is apt to be read, rather than watched, newspapers' superiority is expected to be at stake. DeFleur and his colleagues (1992) found that the levels of recall from newspaper versus the computer screen presentations did not differ significantiy whereas the print media more effective than the broadcast media.[9] However, most studies that experimentally examined the comparative effectiveness of news sources using the "talking head" format in presenting television news to control for the effect of pictures (M. DeFleur, 1992; B. Gunter, 1989; W. Dommermouth, 1974; Ogilvie, 1957). When pictures accompanied television presentations, memory performance changed. Furnham and Gunter (1985) found that memory for violent news was better among male subjects who watched it on television compared to those who were exposed to the same content via newspapers or radio.[10] Wicks and Drew (1991), using news stories that offered congruence between audio and video, failed to support research showing that television

leads to less information gain than newspapers.[11] The body of findings is also inconsistent, however. DeFleur and Cronin (1991), using a visual story versus a printed version, reported that subjects in the newspaper presentation passed on more details more accurately than those in the television group[12].

This present study purports to examine the relative effectiveness of print versus electronic news media using a television news story accompanied by redundant video track. Building on the notion of 'cognitive requirements', it is expected that subjects who read the news in either newspaper or computer presentations would show better memory performance than those who watch the same news story. Furthermore, the style of news writing (inverted pyramid vs. narrative reporting) is sought to be controlled by presenting the written version of the news story in both styles.

H1: Verbal recognition scores will be significantly higher for news that is 'read' than for news that is 'watched'.

The comparative effectiveness of different media as sources of news might be explained according to how much individuals are confident in what they learn from each medium. Certain news media might be perceived as prestigious, serious, or deep, whereas other media are considerd common or entertaining by definition. This raises two questions here: (1) Does confidence in news recall vary according to the type of news source used? (2) Is there a relationship between confidence in answers and levels of memory perfromance?.

Various studies suggest that there is a relatioship between people's confidence in their performance and their accuracy. Lichtenstein and Fischhoff (1977) reported improved confidence-accuracy calibration.[13]

They concluded that the confidence-accuracy relationship is likely to be best calibrated at about 80% accuracy levels. There is a marked degree of agreement in the cognitive literature that there ia a moderate yet robust positive relation between subjects' confidence evaluations and their performance.(14) Schneider and Laurion (1993), testing memory for radio news, reported strong positive confidence-accuracy relationships.

H2: Levels of verbal recognition scores of news facts will be affected by levels of subjects' confidence in their answers.

To date, investigators have rarely examined whether levels of confidence in retrieval are affected by the type of news source. Such psychological factor may add to explaining the comparative cognitive effects of news media. New news sources, such as computer, are perceived as novelty by many receivers in Egypt. Accordingly, acquiring information via computers might lead to higher levels of feeling - of - knowing reflections. Consequently, the third hypothesis is formulated as follows:

H3: There is a significant relationship between the type of news source and subjects' feelings of knowing.

On the other hand, does the variance in confidence levels according to the type of news source used hold over time? Hovland and Weiss (1951) reported that the effect of the message source on opinion change tends to dissolve over time.(16) When subjects were tested four weeks after the experiment, the percentage of those exposed to high credibility source who had changed their opinions decreased. The percentage of opinion change among those exposed to a low credibility source tended to increase in the second test. The authors termed this the "sleeper effect." In a later experiment conducted by Kelman and Hovland (1953), similar results were reported.(17) It has been predicted that although the subjects might

had not forgotten the source, they apparenty had dissociated the content from communication.[18].

The sleeper effect did not receive much attention in memory studies, however. Long term memory was tested to either assess retrieval of stimuli that were not recalled shortly after exposure (reminiscence), or examine improvement in recall over time (hypermnesia). Effect of type of source on long term recall is still needed to be clarified. By the same token, different levels of confidence in answers caused by exposure to different kinds of news sources are susceptible to change significantly over time. Applying the sleeper effect perspective, information may be stored in and retrieved from long term memory in isolation from its source.

There is a significant difference in the degrees of confidence in answeres between the first test immediately after exposure and the second test two hours later.

Subjects

One hundred and twenty subjects volunteered to participate in the experiment. All subjects were senior students studying mass communication at Cairo University.

Design and Material

Using name rosters of the students, subjects were randomly assigned to four groups. Each group comprised 30 Ss who were exposed to one news story presented through different media according to the experimental conditions.

The news story used in the experiment was consisted of approximately 300 words. It is actually a news report on AIDS in the world which was broadcast on the Egyptian television in April 1994. Different criteria were used in selecting this particular story material for the experiment. First, previous exposure will be controlled as the story was aired years ago. Second, subjects' background knowledge will be ruled out as well, because all the facts and figures mentioned in the story are now history or have chaned dramatically. Third, the global nature of the topic dealt with in the story is of general interest that is not restricted to the local community.

The televised news story was transcribed and printed in a column format and font characteristic of newspaper. Two versions of the story were presented in the newspaper from. The first one was just typical recitation of the 'voice-over' of the story. This format was termed 'the broadcast - style printed version. The other version was edited according to print journalism standards. Two specialized news editors were asked to rewrite the story in the print format using typically the same information and words in the original story.

Another version of the story was prepared using the computer. The story was written in its original format and it occupied 36 lines on the screen.

Each subject was told at the beginning of the experiment that he/ she will be asked several general questions on the news story presented. Subjects were not allowed to take any notes during reading or viewing the story. They either read or viewed the material just once. Subjects in the newspaper or the computer conditions read the story at their normal pace, and they were closely watched by the experimenters to maks sure that the instructions were clear and thoroughly followed. Two hours later, subjects were asked to take the same recognition and confidence test again. During the time lapse between the two tests, the students were seated for a lecture on a totally different topic. This was done to prevent any interpersonal communication among the students concerning the experiment or the story presented.

Measurement

Memory was measured by giving the students a twelve-item multiple choice test on the content of the presented news story. The total number of the correct answeres on this was the measure of aided recall for factual information in the experiment.

As subjects answered each multiple - choice item, they also rated to what extent they were confident that the answer was correct. This was done using a 5-point-likert- type scale, ranging from not at all sure (1), to completely sure (5).

Analysis and Results:

Effect of source. The mean recognition score immediately after exposure for the news story was calculated for each group. The findings

showed consistency with research literature that reveals superior cognitive effects of written materials. Readers in both computer and newspaper presentations showed better performance on the test.

Subjects in the computer group remembered the story best (M= 8.23). Those who read the story written in broadcast style were able to remember details (M= 8.17) more than those who read the story written according to the traditional Inverted Pyramid style (M= 7.77). Memory performance was at its lowest level among those in the television group (M= 6.73).

Anslysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used to examine the significance of difference between these different levels of immediate memory.

Table 1

ANOVA of Immediate memory According to type of news source

Source of Variance	df	F ratio	Fprobability
Between groups	3	3.86	0.01
Within groups	116		
Total	119		

As table 1 illustrates, the effect of medium produced a statistically significant difference (F= 3.86, P< 0.01) supporting the hypothesis that differences between groups in terms of news recall are statistically significant. In order to identify whether each medium differed significantly from each other, Benferroni test with significance level 0.05 was further run (Table 2).

Table 2

Significant Differences Between Groups (Benferroni Test)

Mean	Medium	Television	Newspaper	Broadcast style	Computer
6.73	Television				
7.77	Newspaper				
8.17	Broadcast style	*			
8.23	Computer	*			

The data in table 2 supports the hypothesis that subjects' recognition scores in the 'reading condition' are significantly higher than those in the viewing condition. However, only two groups who read the story (computer and broadcast style groups) showed significantly better memory performance than subjects in the television group. No significant difference was detected between the former group and the newspaper group. This suggests that 'reading' the news is more cognitively effective than 'watching' it.

Delayed memory and news source. The influence of the type of news source was not found when subjects' recognition memory was tested again after two hours.

Table 3

ANOVA of Delayed Memory Scores according to News Media

Source of Variance	df	F Ratio	F probability
Between groups	3	1.96	0.12
Within groups	116		
Total	119		

As table 3 suggests, there is no significant difference between groups in terms of recognition memory performance two hours after exposure to the news story. Means of correct answers in each group in both tests are displayed in Table 4.

Table 4

Mean recognition scores for news facts varied by Me (lillm n(1 Time

Medium	Mean (time 1)	Mean (time 2)
Television	6.73	7.10
Print	7.77	7.79
Broadcast format	8.17	8.23
Computer	8.23	8.00

Memory performance in both the 'TV' and 'print' groups improved slightly when retested. Although memory for news facts was better for "read" materials, superiority of written presentations of news was not confirmed statistically when delayed memory was tested. This could be explained according to the familiarity of the test. In the second time, the students were more familiar with the multiple choice questions. Reading the items again might have triggered long-term memory traces and led to almost equal performance among the four groups.

Memory-confidence relationship. Analysis of subjects' metamemory suggests that they are primarily aware of what they know. Aggregate score of confidence ratings correlated significantly with total number of correct answers in both immediate test of memory ($r = 0,57$, $p < 0.001$) and delayed test ($r = 0.55$, $p < 0.001$). This result supports the hypothesis that subjects' feeling of knowing positively correlated with their levels of memory performance.

News source and metamemory. Subjects differed in their degrees of confidence in answers according to the type of news source. Differences were greater in the first test (time 1), whereas in the second test (time 2) the gap tended to be closer.

Table 5

Mean Confidence Scores Varied by Medium and Time

News source	M (time 1)	M (time 2)
Television	39.87	41.03
Broadcast format	43.67	45.30
Computer	45.10	44.47
Print	45.50	45.03

In both tests television was the least initiator of the feeling of knowing among the four groups. The other written presentations of the same news story contributed to higher levels of confidence, however. Analysis of Variance was used to examine the significance of differences in subjects' metamemory based on medium and time of testing.

Table 6

Variance in Cinfidence Scores According to Medium and Time

Source of variance	df	Time 1		Time 2	
		F Ratio	F Prob	F	P
Between groups	3	4.19	0.007	1.97	0.12
Within	116				
Total	119				

Data in table 6 supports the hypothesis that both style of news pres-

entation and time of testing exert effects on subjects' metamemory. Significant differences in levels of confidence were uncovered immediately after exposure, whereas no such significance was detected when subjects were tested two hours later. In other words, the effect of medium on feeling of knowing tended to diminish over time.

Discuission

The study aimed at examining the effect of the news source on both memory performance and feeling of knowing. The results show consistency with previous research on showing superiority of written news over televised news. Reading news via a computer screen or a newspaper is a cognitively more demanding task that results in better levels of memory recognition. Surprisingly, subjects who read the news story on a computer screen showed the highest level of recognition compared to the other groups.

This could be explained according to how highly subjects evaluate computer as a sophisticated source of news that is handled with attention. This might explain the high levels of confidence in answers among the computer group.

Also the study reveals that the traditional format of IP (Inverted Pyramid) is not necessarily the most relevant for writing print news. Many feature and human interest stories are better formulated in the narrative style common in broadcast journalism.

On the other hand, the delayed test of memory showed equality among the different news sources utilized in the study. Performance among the television group was improved to be almost similar to the other groups. Confidence in answers was not an exception. Rwpeated testing of the subjects might be responsible for this leveling. When taking the test

again, subjects might have performed inner rehearsals that facilitated retrieval of correct answers in time 2.

Finally, the sleeper effect materialized significantly in the study. When subjects were tested immediately after exposure, they showed varying degrees of confidence in their answers. Confidence-accuracy relationship appeared to be positively significant.

When tested two hours later, confidence levels turned out to be almost equal among the four groups. Applying the concept of the sleeper effect, subjects might have associated information with its source in the first test, whereas dissociation was more prevalent in the second test. When dissociation took place, confidence scores were leveled out, and the effect of the type of news source on the feeling of knowing was neutralized.

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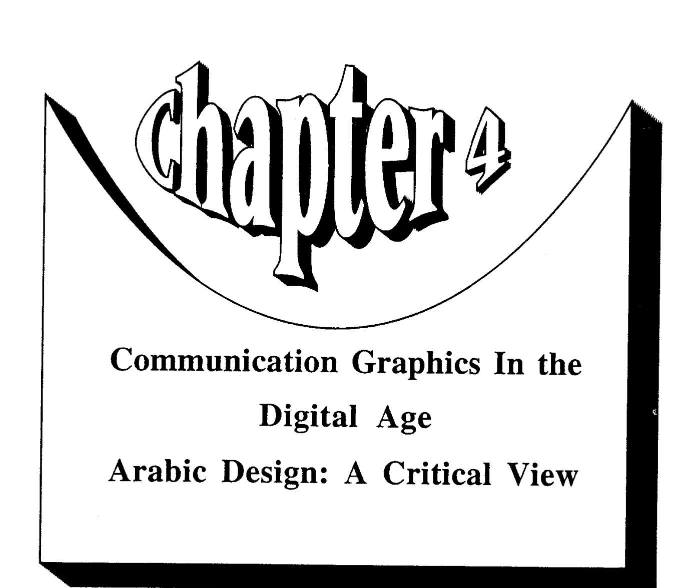
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Communication Graphics In the Digital Age
Arabic Design: A Critical View

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Introduction

Western researchers studied the essence of visual communication and the way graphic designers solve problems and organise space to convey visual information with expression and clarity. Most researchers agree that graphic design is a hybrid discipline. Diverse elements, including signs, symbols, words, and pictures, are collected and assembled into a total message. Perhaps the most important thing that graphic desing does is give communications resonance, a richness of tone that heightens the expressive power of the page. It transcends the dry conveyance of informaton, intensifies the message, and enriches the audience's experience, Resonance helps the designer realise clear public goals: to instruct, to delight, and to motivate. (Bringhurst, 1997)

Most designers speak of their activties as a problem-solving process because designers seek solutions to public communications problems. Approaches to problem solving vary, based on the problem at hand and the working methods of the designer. At a time when Western nations are evolving from industrial to information cultures, a comprehensive understanding of the communicative forms and graphic design becomes increasingly critical. The conceptual nature of the graphic design process generates public confusion about the designer's task. The designer combines graphic materials - words, pictures, and other graphic elements - to construct a visual communications 'gestalt'. This German word does not have a direct English translation, means a configuration or structure with properties not derivable from the sum of its individual parts. (Carter, 1993)

The designer combines visual signs, symbols, and images into a visu-

al-verbal 'gestalt' which the audience can understand. The graphic designer is simultaneoulsy a message maker and form builder. This complex task involves forming an intricate communications message while building a cohesive composition which gains order and clarity from the relationships between the elements.

Digital technologies have significantly changed the way the graphic design works. But adopting these new technologies, such as computer aided design in Arab countries makes people think about them in different ways. This paper discusses the dual nature of these graphic elements as both communicative sign and visual form and reviews this phenomenon on a contextual analysis as it relates to Arabic computerised design. (Bruno, 1993).

Digital Design

There has been a debate over the impact that digital design was having on young designers' ability to apply the essentials of design. Was facility on the computer resulting in a lot of 'junk' design, or was the computer freeing designers from reperitive tasks and allowing them more time to address issues of visual thinking? The author observes that this debate has also surfaced on the academic level.

It began as a conversation between two graphic design educators, who found themselves teaching identical courses on desing fundamentals: one using the computer, the other using traditional media. One thought that computer design was an oxymoron, while the other was tolerant of a fogy who has not even been to cyberspace. What started as fiercely opposite positions became a mutual education, and ended as a shared conclusion: "the computer is a natural step in design history. There is no difference between what designers needed to know about design fundamentals and what a stu-

dent today needs to know. Only the medium is new. Computerised design is not a new form of life, it is just a new activity".

There are kernels of truth to both arguments. Without agreeing on what is good or bad design, it is still easy to agree that there are too many 'ugly' documents in the Arab world, with too many fonts, low quality clip art, poor scans, and absolutely no sense of balance of white space. The ability to produce a printed piece does not necessarily bring with it the ability to create an attractive one. It is also true, however, that desktop publishing has encouraged many people-who never would have otherwise-to try their hands at cerating something of their own on paper. Sometimes the results are marvellous. Other time the results are purely utilitarian-they get the job done, and that is all they need to do. It was once a popular notion that computer graphics should be 'invisible'; that is that artwork produced on the computer should, ideally, leave no tell-tale trace of the particulars that used to be associated with the medium such as highly pixelated images, polygonals, 'jaggies', shading, etc.

Although promotional materials claimed that with computerised design systems, anyone could handle design. Designers noted that computers offered many options, but did not tell the operator what to do with them. They believed the role of designers would be as important as before, but would change as computer technology radically altered the design process. New jobs whould be created, but others would vanish. Already young Arab designers were more open to using the computer as a conceptual tool because so many alternatives could be generated so quickly on the screen. And tasks too complex to do by hand could easily be performed by a computer.

We have heard it before, whether it is coming from a 'technophobe' who hates computers or from a designer who honestly thinks that they are unnecessary: A true artist doesn't need DTP tools; those tools only encourage non-artists to pretend that they are artists. The results are a world cluttered with bad design and diluted impact for good design. The perceived value of good design goes down, and with it that of good designers. So what is there to complain about? Desktop publishing costs less, saves time, and puts the power of the press into the hands of more people. These are good things, but the problem is that these three advantages of desktop publishing are really potential advantages, and potential is not everything. That is why the 'For Dummies' series of books is so popular in the west. Are the designs that keep sliding out of those millions of laser printers any good? Are they really necessary? Are they really freeing us to spend our time and money elsewhere? May be not? It is true that the potential for that sort of design is increased by the use of computer. Once again, however, potential is just that. Desktop pubilshing is a set of tools, and ools are not inherently good or bad. It all depends on what you do with them. Computers cannot create good design-and good designers cannot be held back by computers. The following answer comes right back: That is an elitist point of view: the technologies that have developed during the last decade have allowed all of us to explore our capabilities more fully than ever before. Who is to say that a non-artist cannot produce good art-and who is to say what is good and bad design?

There is a new generation gap, and it is between those who know the traditional methods of publishing and those who do not want to know them, who say that it is time to throw away the rule book and start fresh. But there are reasons for not using 46 fonts on one page, say the traditionalisits. We have better reasons to go ahead and do it anyway, say the new

guard. Fortunately, there is a middle ground: a group that says the rules should be learned and followed before they are broken, and that sometimes the old way is the right way. (Binder, 1995).

The New Technology: Desktop publishing (DTP)

It is said that a pebble placed in the right spot in a stream could change the direction of that stream. Considering that nearly every component in print production has changed recently, it could be argued that the pebble was Desktop Publishing and the sream was print production.

Desktop Publishing means essentially the application of microcomputers and generalised software in the computerisation of such prepress functions as typesetting, page desing and layout, artwork manipulation and camera-ready copy production-all done on a computer system which fits whthin an office environment. The term itself has been objected to by some as not only inelegant, but actually inaccurate since it does not really enable peple to 'publish' in the strict sense that publishing also means distribution, promotion, and other ancillary activities. An alternative term, preferred by some, is 'compluter prepress'.

Desktop publishing, which use computer technology and specialised software to produce graphics and text for documents, has been one of the fastest growing segments of the computer industry since its introduction in the mid-1980s. Today, desktop publishing systems are used world-wide to produce a variety of printed documents, ranging from the simplest brochures to complex, four-colour publictions.

The roots of desktop publishing go back the 1950s and 1960s whith the marriage of photocompostition and computers. That first step was an attempt to use typesetting equipment linked with computers to set type; then later systems were expanded to format or layout pages, referred to as

page make up. Since that time, the use of computer technology in pubilshing print materials has developed at a rapidly accelerating pace. Computers were already accepted in publishing when microcomputers were introduced in the late 1970s. These microsystems made possible personal computers which could sit on just about anybody's desk. personal computers became a commodity within practical economic reach of the mass market. By the end of the 1970s the stage for desktop publishing was set. There existed the concept as well as a history of the implementation of computers in publishing, and there were small computer systems which were growing more and more affordable to a wider market. (GATF, 1997).

In the early 1980s, Adobe Systems created a page description language called PostScript adnd a processor that could interpret PostScript programs and generate a data stream to drive a digital printing device such as a laser printer or film writer.

The computer that did most to launch the microcomputer-based DTP industry was the Apple Macintosh. The introduction of the Apple Macintosh computer in the 1980s was a giant step toward desktop publishing. The Macintosh was developed as a user friendly machine and as part of an integrated hardware and software system. In fact the term desktop came into use also in 1984, about the same time as the creation of Aldus Corporation by Paul Brainard. Aldus was formed as the basis for developing a program that would combine the functions of low-cost microcomputer with a laser printer to produce camera-ready copy. The result was a program called PageMaker, developed by Aldus which became part of Adobe in a friendly takeover in 1993. Although other text and drawing programs were available for the Macintosh, PageMaker was the first program which allowed the easy integration of text and graphics into a single document.

At the time, most documents were prepared for printing using the 'cut and paste' method. Text was input into typesetters, which used photo devices primarily to produce galleys. The galleys were then cut apart and pasted onto pre-formatted layout boards, which also contained any graphics or photos that were to be included in the document. When completed, these boards, now called 'camera-ready' artwork, would be sent to a composing room, where they would go through several more steps to produce the final printed product.

The combination of a computer and software which allowed users to compose complete documents without cutting and pasting, and a printer which could produce documents that rivalled phototypesetting in quality, revolutionised the graphics and printing industry almost overnight. It eliminated many of the manual stesp previously necessary to prepare materials for printing, and allowed for the easy manipulation of both text and graphics when changes were necessary. Although many in the printing industry were sceptical of the new technology at first, it became clear there were compelling advantages to using DTP systems in many situations. (FIGURE 1).

In the years since then, not only are new programs introduced to the market almost every month, but new versions of existing programs as well. In addition to PageMaker, there are other page design programs and programs which permit manipulation of typefaces, alter photographs and draw and paint. Adobe Photoshop, for rxample, is the world-standard photo design and production tool which provides creative control and increased productivity in editing and creating images for print. The hardware required to run all this software grows increasingly more complex, faster and more powerful.

The desktop publishing industry is today a huge business–much of it

being conducted out of home offices by graphic designers and writers who embraced desktop publishing early on as a viable tool adjunct to their other skills. Although systems using Apple Macintosh technology still dominate the high-end graphics market, improvements in the Windows operating environment have made personal computers a viable component of many DTP systems as well.

DTP Workflow

Producing documents using desktop publishing systems involves multiple steps and various types of software and equipment. The basic components of any DTP system consist of a desktop computer system, printer, word processing software, and publishing software (FIGURE 2).

Although not vital components, most DTP systems include drawing and photo manipulation programs such as photoshop, illustrator or Freehand, and a scanner for reading photos and other art. Some systems may also include video digitising hardware and software as well as electronic pens and graphic tablets for creating illustrations.

These elements are used to create original text and illustrations on the computer, which are then exported to the desktop publishing software. The publishing software then combines the text and graphics into an on-screen display, resembling a document page, which allows the user to see a draft of the finished product. The desktop publishing program also can be send to further refine both text and graphics, including changing the size and style of the text and resizing or manipulating graphics.

Finally, the finshed document is either printed out on a laser printer or saved to a diskette for later output, Some documents, due to their size and complexity, are stored on high capacity storage systems or transmitted electroically to service bureaus, where they are reproduced in the necesseary format for printing. (Cost, 1997).

A key element in any DTP system is the desktop publishing software program. They range from simple to complex, and there are programs availble for users at any skill level and budget. PageMaker and Quark XPress are the preeminent applications for larger, more complex documents such as newspapers, magazines and newsletters. Some of the necessary features of any DTP program include multiple type sizes and styles-called fonts–as well as the ability to import text, graphics and photographs and to create documents with multiple columns and various formats. Higher-end DTP software allows users to wrap text around odd-shaped graphics, distort text and other elements to create bold graphics, and produce colour separations for printing. Other desirable features include document templates, which contain pre-formatted layout and typestyle information for a variety of publications; kerning, which allows precise manipulation of type; and on-line spell-checkers and thesauri.

Until fairly recently, there was a distinct difference between application programs for word processing and programs used for desktop design and publishing. However, many word processing programs today include a number of desktop design elements, such as templates, multiple-column layouts, advanced text manipulation and graphics importation, making them useful for producing such items as flyers, brochures and simple newsletters.

High-end DTP Systems

Colour electronic prepress systems are specialised computers used for scanning, enhancing, correcting, and colour separating full-colour artwork and photographs. They have become indispensable for producing high-quality colour in publishing, advertising, and packaging. They are referred to as high-end both in terms of their price and performance. High-end co-

lour prepress is comparable to the emerging desktop systems, but with a few differences:

- they are designed to be faster, usually a lot faster

- they have greater resolution and dynamic range, and hence higher quality

- they are more complex to operate

- they can handle larger original output sizes

- they cost more, often a lot more.

Faster typesetting and electronic colour scanning not only increased productivity in these two important prepress operations but also created serious bottlenecks in the stripping operation, where the film is separated into page and plate layouts. Electronic systems (consisting of front-end systems, image processors, and typesetters) for page layout of text with some black-and-white illustrations have been developed. There are also electronic digial systems (consisting of scanners, image-processing stations, layout table, and output scanners) for assembling colour illustrations and text. Colour electronic prepress systems are used by some large printing companies and trade shops and are very expensive. (Holtzschue, 1997).

Computer-aided design (CAD) has been used to develop systems to accomplish film assembly, which includes the following operations: laying out the dimensions of the printed page; placement of register marks, page numbers, running heads, and so on; and the handling of image elements, breaks for colour, crossovers, and other positional features. When the layouts are made on film or cut out on mask sheets, the film image elements are attached to the working sheets, or plate flats. Interfaces between these layout systems and the CEPS have been developed. A stripping machine

has been devised which automatically applies the film image elements to the stripping flats according to digital data taken from the layout.

From the beginning of the digital revolution, prepress specialists have been hoping the new technologies would increase productivity by eliminating production steps. Desktop and PostScript technologies helped by allowing the output of both halftones and typesetting on final film. The next step may be the elimination of films and plates themselves. Eliminating steps in the priniting process–whether proofs, films, or platemaking–has been the focus of intense activity in the past several years.

Digital photography

Digital photo imaging has brought a new dimension to visual communication. By combining modern digital technology with traditional photograpy, it has become easier, faster and more cost effective to create work with images–in journalism, publishing, business, and the visual arts. In journalism, daily and weekly publications use digial cameras to ensure faster delivery of photographs from around the world. Studio photographers and their clients are finding new ways to lower the costs of including colour images in catalogues and advertising. Photo CD systems provide quick access to digital images through online photographic clip art and stock libraries. Technical illustrators routinely use photographs to reproduce cut-away diagrams, a process that once could only be done with drawings. Artists blend drawing, painting and photography to create new and often unique works. photo labs use computers and film recorders to create new digital originals, or to retouch and restore old photographs which might have been forever lost the ages. The "electronic darkroom" has brought dramatic changes to photography. Today, photogaphic businesses replace or supplement traditional darkroom equipment with comput-

ers, desktop scanners, image processing software, and output devices such as colour film recorders. In addition, the latest filmless digital cameras have won acclaim for specialised uses.

Through the computer, the world of photography is expanding rapidly, giving the creative mind even more options in the imaging of tomorrow. Digital cameras using disks to capture the image are making rapid inroads into studio photography. Once an image has been digitised, it may be sized, manipulated, retouched, coloured, collaged, and reshaped to the liking of the artist or photographer. Computers are also being used as a controllable light source, the light pixels are individually programmed to imitate the procedure of 'dodging' and 'burning'. Moreover, photo CD technology is starting to have a dramatic impact on traditional photography and is providing broad access for consumers to have their film images scanned onto disk. Many graphic professionals are rapidly adopting it for publishing and advertising work.

Eastman Kodak enterd the compact-disc industry with the Photo CD System. As originally designed, up to 100 pictures could be transferred to and stored on a disc, as well as developed into slides and prints. A disc could then be played on a compatible CD-ROM drive or, for consumers, on a photo CD player. The pictures in the latter configuration would subsequently be viewed on a television, and the same could also play audio CDs. (Eastman Kodak, 1998).

This capability also opens up new creative possibilities. By using the infrastructure which supports the Photo CD System, for example, designers can create their own electronic, disc-based clip art collection from original pictures; store the images on a disc, and load the disin an appropriate drive. The pictures could subsequently be retrieved and used through vari-

ous interfaces, much like conventional graphics stored on a hard disc, This system would also be cost-effective since designers would not have to buy the procesing equipment. Ultimately, they gain access to another creative tool for desktop publishing, desktop video, and multimedia appplications. Systems such as the Photo CD, for their part, cut across the traditional and silverless photographic fields. Pictures produced as standard prints or slides could also be stored on a disc and viewed on a television. The same pictures could subsequently be manipulated by the computer.

Digital Typography

Since the invention of type, whether it be credited to Johann Gutenberg in 1450 or to Chinese artisans hundreds of years earlier, someone has had the task of deciding how type was placed on the printed page. The standards of placement are known as typography; or, more specifically, typography is the style, arrangement or appearance of typeset matter. Typographic design has historically been an important part of the production of printed matter.

Typography is visual engineering, and typographic design is the art of using type effectively. Communicating with type depends on an acute understanding of the basic visual elements–space, shape, form, size, colour, etc. A designer is responsible for choosing and sizing a type style that will enhance the visual concept without compromising the informational content of the message.

Until the 1980's typeface design was controlled by a small number of type foundries like Linotype and Monotype, the big names from the 'hot-metal' era. Typographical traditions which evolved centuries ago now appear to be under threat from computer prepress technology. The democratisation of type design and font manufacturing has offered the user an in-

credible variety of fonts. A key milestone in the evolution of digital type is 'PostScript', the page description language to control imagesetters and laser-printer output. PostScript fonts are defined as 'Bézier' curves, a scalable mathematical outline that can be reproduced at different resolutions and sizes and maintaining a high quality output.

As stated earlier, one of the main reasons postScript has become so predominant in the computer printing industry is because of its device-independence. Device-independence means that the image (the page to print or display) is defined without any reference to any pecific device feature (printer resolution, page sizes, etc.). A single page description can be used on any PostScript-compatible printer from a 300 dpi laser printer to a 3000 dpi imagesetter.

Another powerful aspect of PostScript is that it considers text as just another type of graphics. There is no fundamental difference between characters in a font and any other kind of ink on the page (halftones, line art, etc). This design aspect provides tremendous flexibility for working with fonts.

Most applications which can print to a PostScript printer also can print to a file. Printing to a file means that the application (or the computer running the application, whith the help of a PostScript driver) converts the job data to PostScript commands and saves it as a file instead of transmitting the code to a printer. With a PostScript file, the user can download the file to any PostScript priner to print the file. Downloading is different from priniting in that no data conversion (from job data to PostScript) takes place, the file is merely sent to the printer. Most computer platforms have a variety of PostScript downloaders available. (Bergsland, 1997).

The Future Is Here

By the year 2002, prepress, or the process of preparing materials for hard copy printing, will evolve into "pre-publishing," an industry aligned with a variety of hard and soft output options. Manipulation of text and graphic elements and page assembly are increasingly a combined activity as it becomes more important to realise the implications of a manipulation process on final page assembly.

The new area of prepublishing will rely heavily on digital technologies. Already, storage and retrieval, once accomplished through mechanicals, film and flat files, are being handled with digital files. The future heralds digital transmission throughout the many stages of the design and prepublication process. The transition to a digital environment will provide suppliers with many opportunities to replace manual operations with automated products and will have a significant effect on the use of specific types of traditional prepress materials.

The effects of these changes on the industry is likely to vary by segment. For example, trade typesetters will have to expand into other areas as the trade typesetting market is declining. Also, commercial printers will be impacted upon by competition from instant printers, and corporations might revert to performing more of their information development, production, and dissemination on an in-house basis.

While prepress organisations have already been impacted upon by high speed laser printers, electronic publishing systems, and colour copiers, they are likely also to diversify outwards, and start to support CD-ROM publishing, on-line databases, multimedia, and broadcast networks over the coming decade, New colour and multimedia capabilities allow op-

tions which have not even been recognised yet. For example, book publishing is likely to radically change. Some will go to on-demand, some to multimedia, some on the World Wide Web, and there will almost certainly be other industry segments in the future. There are several blossoming industry segments that have no counterpart in traditional printing. Digital production is the enabling technology for them. The following industry segments have emerged so far:

Short-Run Colour

This brand-new capability is basically process colour quick print. It has been enabled by digital presses. Process colour used to be the dividing line between normal and top-end commercial printing. The technical requirements were very demanding, the equipment was very expensive, and the labour costs were very high due to the skill levels needed. This has all changed. Colour has been made available to everyone. Digital process colour basically means using a very sophisticated printer on the computer. Digital presses range from process colour laser printers to top-end presses. The presses are hung with blank plates which are laser imaged directly on the press. The result is process printing which is very economical, with shorter turnaround times.

Most printing experts expect this to be one of the fastest growing segments of the prining industry for years to come. With almost all black-ink printing being taken care of by copiers and laser printers, short-run colour will be increasingly in demand. Instead of having pieces typeset to avoid the typewriter look, people are having pieces printed in colour to avoid the laser printer look. In addition, prosess colour is so easily done on a computer monitor that designers are often not satisfied with less.

On-Demand Printing

On-demand printing is yet another brand-new capability enabled by digital production. By coupling a powerful computer to a digital press with in-line bindery ability, it is possible to produce custom publications. For instance, there is the prospect of blending data with templates to print customised mailings for an entire list of clients. A million pieces, all personalised, is now more than a theoretical possibiliy. The possobilities are enormous. Professors can have textbooks custom tailored to their curricula. Catalogue publishers can produce custom publications for specific demographics and even very small targeted groups.

CD-ROM/Multimedia

CD-ROM/Multimedia publishing is increasingly being used by production houses. This area of printing is still in its infancy in the Arab world. The economic pressures are tremendous, however. CDs which can be cheaply produced may contain sevral full-colour catalogues. For example, one may receive a CD in the mail containing several catalogues from some of the highest quality companies. This single CD costs much less to produce than any of the catalogues individually. The mailing costs much lower also. Because printers already have the catwalks on disk, CD production is a natural path for them. With CD writing recorders in the low figure range, a single person with a personal computer could output a CD catalogue at much less cost than traditional catalogue production.

Web publishing

Both the Internet and interactice multimedia are providing ways of employing the printed word which add new possibilities to print's role in cul-

ture. The printed word is now used for real-time social interaction and for individualised navigation through interactive documents. It is difficult to gauge the social and cultural impact of new media without historical distance, but these innovations will most likely prove to signal another major transformation in the use, influence and character of human communication.

The graphic arts industries are in a major transformation, a shift to digital technology. The graphic design industry is passing through a revolutionary phase brought about by digital prepress technology. productivity, qualiy and economy are the results of technological innovations with computer integated prepress systems. These systems heralded the beginning of a new era, allowing all of the elements required for page make-up, typographic finesse, graphics, pagination and style sheets to be prepared on a desktop computer.

Most of the developments described have been directed towards Roman orthography. In the following pages the author shows that these developments have special, and largely unaddressed problems in the Arabic script.

The Computerisation of Arabic Design

Today's technologies have drastically altered the ways in which type fonts are developed and applied. An understanding of this is necessarily relevant to the Arabic designer for the simple fact that the computerisation of the Arabic script is accomplished utilising these technologies. In the new computer age the proliferation of typefaces and type manipulations there is a new level of visual pollution threatening the Arabic culture. Out of thousands of typefaces, all that is needed are a few basic ones, and get rid of the rest. To a large extent, the question facing the modern designer

of Arabic letterforms and typefaces who adopted the computer as a design tool is the same one which has been debated virtually since the invention of movable type in the 16 th century. That is, how much should the forms of Arabic letters retain their calligraphic origins and how strong is the case for simplification. (Daines, 1993)

The introduction of digital typesetting meant that Arabic type faces had to be converted for the new usage. Through the help of Monotype and Linotype the transition was made fairly smoothly and a range of Arabic typefaces have been available. By 1978 Monotype had already digitised their Arabic typeface for their 'Lasercomp' typesetters. Linotype also began to work with laser technology. In the beginning all digitised Arabic typefaces for these and other digital systems were stored as bitmaps. To prepare the typefaces for laser systems it was necessary to digitise analog artwork with a scanner. A graphics screen (display terminal) was used for reproducing the bitmap information produed by the scanner. Improvements to the shape of the character by deleting or adding pixels were carried out using editing programs. During the 1980's systems vendors new to Arabic type, using digital technology, appeared. This did not, however, mean the introduction of good new Arabic typeface designs. Most new manufacturers licensed type from Monotype or Linotype or modified the well known typefaces without permission, a pattern which was to repeat itself in the early days of desktop publishing. This made the period a lean one in the history of Arabic text typeface design. Notable was the introduction of a large number of Arabic types by leading calligraphic designers such as Mourad Boutros and Esmat Chambour who designed their first typefaces for Esselte Letraset and the range was also licensed to some manufacturers of computerised sign making systems for sale in the Middle East.

The London-based Diwan Science and Technology entered the Arabic computer prepress market in 1986 with a range of software for Arabic graphic design and font production. The company arabised Letraset's page layout program 'Ready-Set-Go' and called it 'Al Nashir Al Maktabi' at first using typefaces modified from Linotype. The latest program, 'Design Studio', has now been Arabised by Diwan and is called 'Al Nashir Al Sahafi'. These programs are representative of the growing sophistication of computerised design and reproduction.

Typefaces are at the heart of graphics and it was Adobe PostScript's ability to handle typeface outlines which was important for the concept of desktop publishing. Although typeface quality varies, depending on the care and skill employed in original digitisation, Adobe original choice for the Bézier format allows accurate reproduction of character shapes.

PostScript technology is based on mathematical descriptions of the outlines of the various letterforms. Rather than recording which pixel must be turned on or off as bitmaps do, the outline formulas, cubic Bézier curves, describe only the outline of the form and only activate those pixels which fall within these boundaries. This is a far more economical description of the form as it reduces redundant information by only recognising the outline and ignoring the internal pixel information. This is of enormous consequence because the computer, understanding the description mathematically, is able to numerically manipulate this information and thus allowing for such variations such as skewing, rotating, curving, etc.(Figure 3)

In the Arabic world third party producers of typefaces are beginning to provide end-user fonts, just as has happened with Latin fonts, where type has become a commodity with thousands of typefaces available by mail order or as large libraries issued on compact disks. Arabic ranges

such as the Diwan collection designed by Diwan Science & Information Technology widen the choice of designs available to Arabic DTP users.

For Arabic types the sensitivity of the new outline formats increases the possibility of retaining all the elegance and quality of calligraphic influences in new typeface fonts. Alongside improvements in computer prepress software, including such aspects as contextual analysis and increased character sets, new fonts provide all the facilities necessary for quality Arabic type and layout. Interestingly, the very latest technology to be applied to arabic type, digitisation, which at first emphasised the problems of the calligraphy form, now vegins to allow a return to the reproduction of the written word at its most artistic level. For the first time since the invention of moveable type modern technology provides the ability to set Arabic type exactly as the calligrapher would write a piece of text. It is sometimes difficult for the western observer to realise that, even today after considerable advances in Arabic typesetting, including those of computer prepress technology, the printed word in Arabic is subservient to Arabic calligraphy. The interplay between the calligraphic forms and the development of printing types is more complex and closely meshed than in the western world.(Figure 4)

Arabic Design: A Critical View

The worst of Arabic computer assisted design shows little knowledge of or a sensitivity to the nuances of good design. In my own observations, computer assisted Arabic design is often seems applied to the surface - as though it has been slapped on top of the layout - as opposed to design which is arising from the structure of the text. Devices such as screens, boxes, shadows, geometric shapes and dotted column rules added in a superficial way to dress up a page. The page appears to be designed,

not as a whole, but in parts - a box here, a shadow there. In fact so much attention is given to visual tricks and devices, that the design often is fragmented among several mini-focal points. The computer's capabilities seem to encourage the Arabic designer to experiment with irregular grids and elaborate initial letters as design embellishments rather than conceptualising the overall layout. This is ironic because Arabic letterforms have been well known for their aesthetic value. In the past, the Arabic calligrapher held a high position in society. In effect there are two possible design-related consequences when an Arabic publication is moved to a computerised design system:

- The layout includes features identified by designers as typical of a computer prepress system which has been poorly handled. Generally, this suggests not only an inability to handle the computer and its design capabities skilfully, but a lack of design training as well. Therefore, the person designing such a pubication tends to rely on what the computer offers for layout embellishments.

- Alternatively, the layout reflects the designer's fascination with what the computer can accomplish. The magazine evidently bears the mark of computer prepress because the designer is willing to take the computer through its paces, experimenting with the tricks and techniques possible with the system. But it is not clearly done with a sense of design; the designer does not know what he/ she is doing, but rather is pushing the system's capablities. (Majid, 1995)

Certain design identification characteristics of desktop computer prepress can arise from one or both of these two circumstances. Most Arabic of magazine layouts show a heavy use of screens, shadowed boxes, vertivcal dotted column rules, irregular column grid formats, graduated fills of

colour in screens, 3 D type effects - the use of all of these may reflect a lack of experience with design. A novice designer may by tempted by comupter's capabilities to rely on such features for 'design interest' instead of shaping the layout as a whole. In other words, the designer is tempted to push the computer's capabilities to add these touches; because the computer can do it, the designer will try it.

It is imperative to know that designers with a solid background in desgin fundamentals strive to produce a magazine with few or no signs of comupter prepress. It is the work of a designer, well-trained in design and in working with the computer, whose goal is to avoid the 'computerised design look,' who puts together the publication to look as traditionally produced as possible. When there are slips, it is because the designer - or the production artist producing the layout - lacks some skill in handling the computer.

Disdain for a 'computerised design look' is a reason frequently offered for magazines handling their desing very carefully when moving to a computer prepress system, but other factors can come into play and should be noted. Magazines generally try to avoid making design changes that would be obvious to readers. The reason for this involves an assumption that readers depend on and favour consistency in the publications they read regulary. A design change can sometimes alienate readers. Also, the design of a magazine becomes a part of its personality and its identity, factors which are critical intangibles; therefore, much care is taken in changes in the visual appearance of magazines to minimise the effects of any change in production technology.

Although desktop computer prepress systems have been accepted into production at magazines, there is more reluctance to use them effec-

tively in Arabic design. Arabic designers are not aware about the impact of the computer on the quality of their design work. It is essential to note that production is a mechanical activity and the computer brings to it an ease in achieving precision which is extremely helpful. But design is an intuitive and idiosyncratic activity, and art directors are hired for their design sense; that is their currency in the world of magazines. They are wary about the computer's role in design because of a concern about the standardisation implicit in a 'computerised-design look,' the computer's power to shape a design, if only by its mechanical limits.

The creative potential of the computer is only beginning to be realised. The challenge of digital design is not to find ways to perform new technical tricks, it is to create a new imagery that reflects the new medium. The generation of artists and designers who meet this challenge will do so in a surprisingly traditional way. Digital design requires only those things that good design has always demanded: skill in use of the medium, a mastery of foundation design concepts, and innovative thinking. Only the writer writes; only the artist draws. The language of design, and design itself, has always been influenced by the technology that allows us to communicate our ideas. The methods used to chisel letters in stone and cast individual letters from lead have altered the perception of what design should or can be through the available technology of that time. Using a computer is no different, it creates new opportunities of how we can express our communication, and in doing so alter the perception of what Arabic graphic design now is. We have to exploit the nature of digital design and we need to analyse the conventions which have been established. Some of these conventions continue to be adopted and reapplied in the West to meet the needs of new technologies. So before one can make the most of digital design, one has to know the basic rules.

When microelectronic technology is introduced into an area, there is a 'cultural lag' between the advanced technology and users' ability to handle it. Digital technology has created the immediate availability of visual tricks for Arabic publication design allowing expressive freedom for some and confusion for others. Expressive freedom can only be obtained by knowing which factors influence the design, instead of merely knowing what to apply. How far can we go before our use of the technology available to us becomes counter-productive. The possibilities are vast. But regrettably, this typographical horn of plenty contains some questionable fruit. This phenomenon is definitely having a negative impact on the readability and legibility of Arabic. We (Arabs) are the only people who must understand in order to read, whereas the other people of the earth read in order to understand. For Arabic designers, the possibilities of using computers to present information in new ways are realised. The computer can be used not only to create visual forms, but also to enhance structural order in the content of printed communications.

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FIGURE 1

التجهيز الطباعي: مقارنة بين الطريقتين اليدوية والرقمية

The Prepress Process: Manual vs. Digital Method

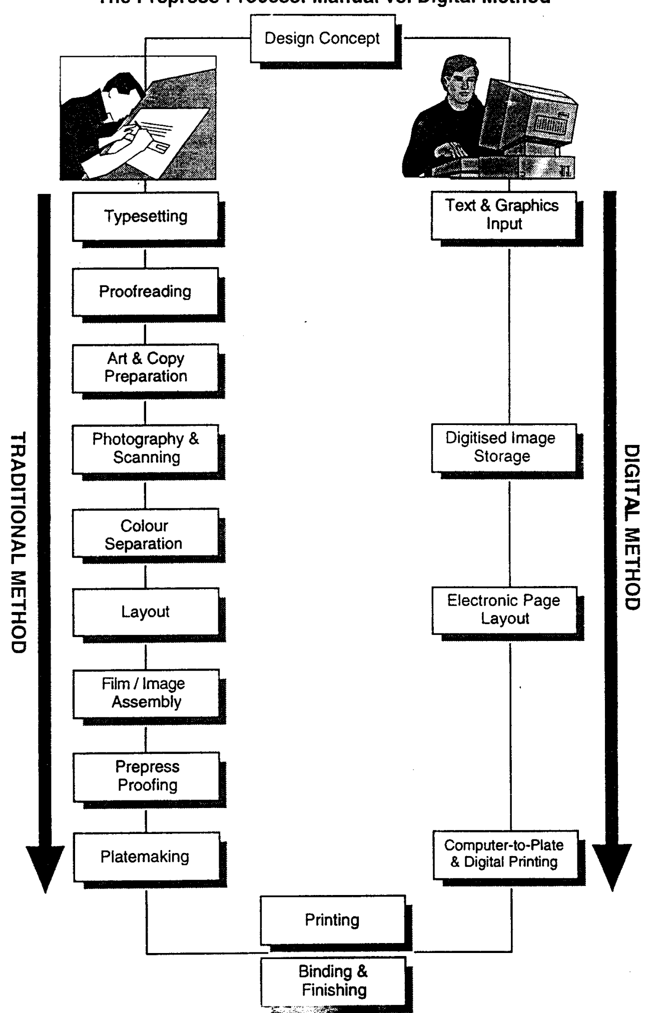


FIGURE 2

Desktop Publishing Workflow

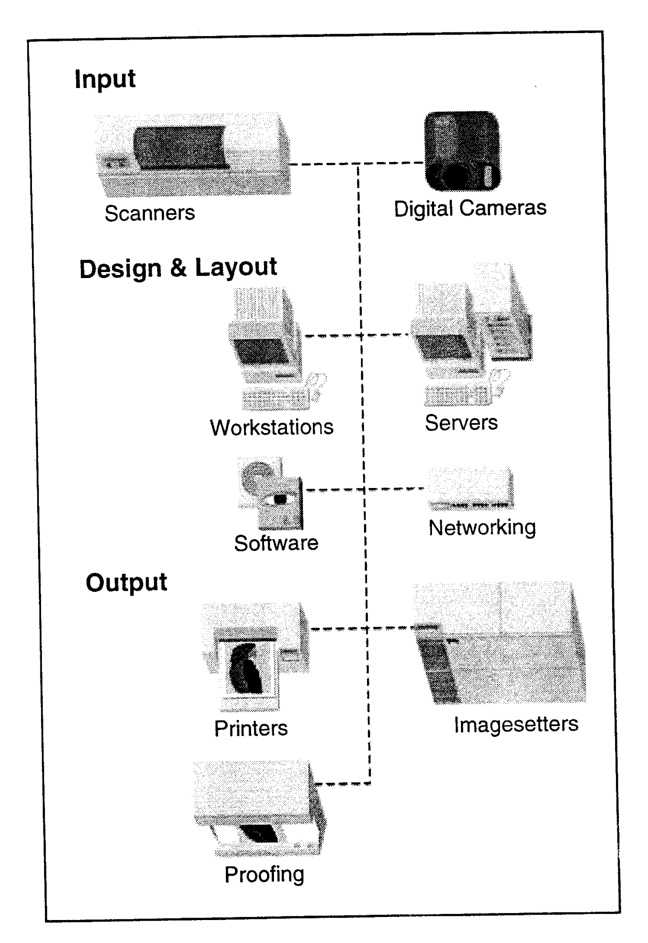


FIGURE 3

Arabic Typeface Outlines Defined by Bézier Format

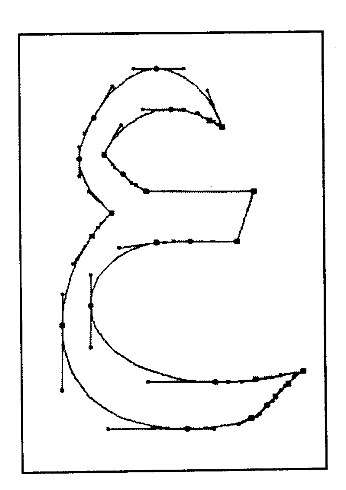
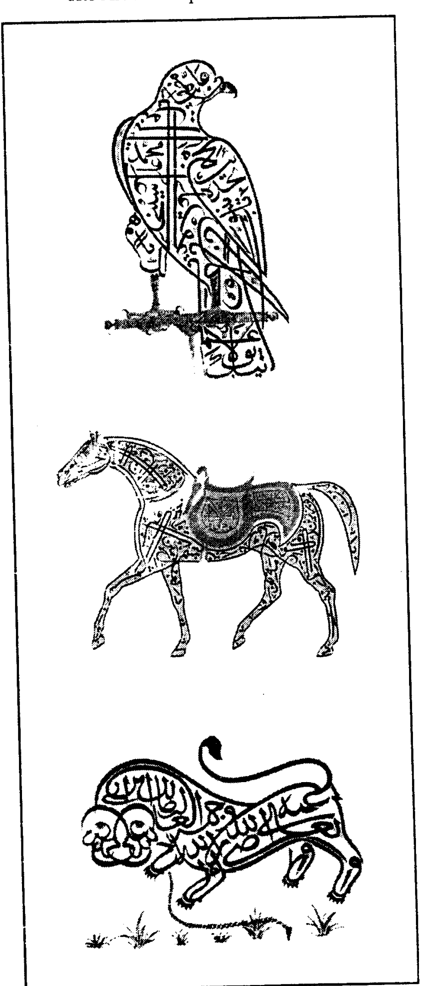
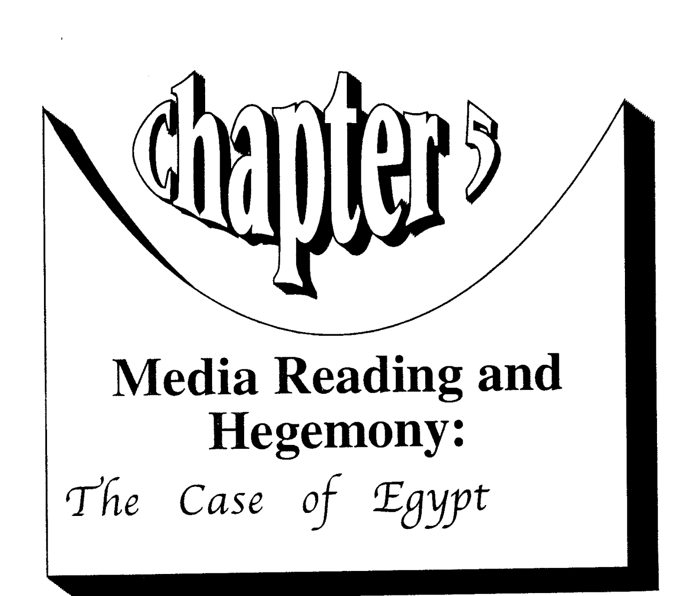


FIGURE 4

The Arabic Script as an Art Form



Source: Safadi, Y. H. (1978). *Islamic Calligraphy.* London: Thames and Hudson.



Media Reading and Hegemony:
The Case of Egypt

by
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Media Reading and Hegemony: *The case of Egypt*

Hegemony refers to the power of the ruling class to exert social and cultural dominance over the rest of the society by elevating their own political, economic, and ideological interests. It is an on-going process, which can be sensed by followers of a counter-ideology, but not by those who support authority. In the case of mass media in Egypt, where the government either directly controls radio, television, and newspapers, or supervises or censors other newspapers and magazines, hegemony can easily be detected by the public(1). It can also be interpreted negatively by the opposition, and at some point they might act against it. One way the ruling class or the authority attemplts to reduce the significance of any potential threats and instability in their society and maintain its status and supporters is by relying on the media for entertainment and for legitimization of the political regime.

Because the Egyptian government could be viewed as authoritarian, I am predicting that authority will continue to face disruption as Muslim revivalists gain public support while the pubic's satisfaction with authority declines. My view is in agreement with McGuigan (1995), who reveals how "religious and rural practices present resistance and challenge to the current hegenonic system" (p. 376). He uses as a major example of such resistance the rise of "Islamic fundamentalism" – a trend that is often undermined by the authorities in many Islamic countries. The result could be a disequilibrium in hegemony that could rupture at some point. In fact, fueling the process are the permanent fixed principles of Islam that appeal to the masses in a suppressed environment. These principles offer tradi-

(1) Because hegemony can be seen to be exerted at all levels in society (e.g., an administration in a university or a manager of a store), it is likely that its impact would have various levels within the sub-culture.

tional views in strong moral language understandable by the majority, unlike the government's views (viewed by the orthodox as heresy) which are presented in incomprehensible official language (e.g., secularism [almainia], fundamentalism [usulia]. Such obvious language that is unfamiliar or uncommonly used among the masses could contribute to widening the gap between the secular ideology and the Islamic ideology. As a result, the misalignment is continually strengthened among the masses in an unexpected way[2].

Hegemony might be seen as being "spontaneous" or "natural." It could only be seen as such because of the "historical result" of the ruling class, who have controlled the means and channels of production (White, 1992). The process of communicating this hegemony is a complex one that requires the use of an ideology that has "convincing" elements which must not point the interests of the ruling class. At the same time, preserving hegemony in a system is an on-going process capble of adjusting to tubulence in society, and therefore sustaining its own goals. As Hall (1988) states, even when hegemony achieves a "popular consent" (p. 53), "[it] must be constantly and ceaselessly renewed [and] reenacted" (p. 54).

The term "hegemony" must not be confused with "dictatorshop, "which is open and obvious. This is clear from one of Gramsci's letters from prison where he explained how the "government of an economic class... was unable to create its own catgory of intellectuals and thus exercise hegemony and not simply dictatorship",[3] (Gramsci, 1994, P. 67).

(2) By "secular" ideology I mean nonreligious or somewhat impartial to religion. As we will see, I will be using the masses' ideology as the "Islamic ideology" and will differentiate it from the secular ideology, Similar usage to mine may be seen in Juergensmeyer (1993).

(3) The letter was dated September 7, 1933 and addressed to Tania Schucht, his sister-in-law, who was not only a devoted assistant to Gramsci during his years in prison, but also was critical of the revolutionary movements of her day. From her letters =

Perhaps, to Gramsic, the rele . ance of hegemony exceeds that of dictatorship because of the hidden nature of hegemony, which could be looked at as more malleable, where as dictatorship is vigorous, distinct, and straightforward. Dictatorship requires an open administation with an influential grip to accomplish the desired outcome - which might be the reason why Gramsci referred to it as "simple." Hegemony, on the other hand, disguises itself and operates intuitively and subliminally to become the norm within society. perhaps such undercover formation makes it more dangerous than dictatorship, the presence of which may be obvious and the impact of which may be clearly seen and felt in society, especially when there is a gap between the agendas of the government and the people.

Many researchers in the humanities use hegemony to investigate a variety of issues. Scholars in the field of mass communication, for example, have attempted to study hegemony, examine its presence in the mas media, and criticize its influence. Despite the variety of its application, Newcomb (1984) states that the notion of hegemony fails to account completely for the actual social practices involving the communicated "text" and its "readers". Such failure is related to the social, political, and economic factors that make the meaning of the text connotative rather than denotative (associated with wider meanings in culture). Newcomb saw such an association in two important aspects of hegemony related to the media: One is that hegemony can be "rigorous," and the second is that it can be "flexible" in explaining different phenomena in society. As we shall see, the "flexible" and "rigorous" nature of hegmony provide adequate explanation for it. Through them, hegemony is a mean to inquire about ideological

= exchanged with Gramsci, it appears that they had similar views about these movements.

functions and certain societal concerns. Thus, hegemony as disguised in news, entertainment programs, and other television categories and seeking to legitimize the hierarchy in the system remains of interest to many researchers in the field.

The "rigorous" nature of hegemony, in the context of mass media, suggests a range of possible responses to a text that are limited by the "hegemonically structured thought" (Newcomb, 1984, p. 36) and result in embracing the "dominant reading" without any hesitation. The "flexible" nature of hegemony, on the other hand, allows different readings of a media text. Thus it allows individual variations among readers of a text, or what is known as "polysemy". Thus, television content may present programs that can be interpreted differenty, particularly by those who are attached to other ideologies than that of the sender. For example, a television program could be interpreted to represent gender or racial inequalities and/ or spurious ideological messages that could alter readers' ideological outlook in such a way as to renounce trends within their social structure. It is possible, then, that interpretations or readings of television programs could be threatening: they could dismantle hegemony and potentially contribute to the crumbling of the political system as the mass media and those behind them are perceived as incapable of being in harmony with the trend of the people[4].

Interpretation, when it is "rigorous," generates values that are thought to match the dominant system. Thus, it can be labeled "preferred reading" (Fiske, 1991) (in which the producers use the dominant ideological values that are encoded in a text in a way that they coincide with the taste of society). The "preferred reading" could generate shared meaning

(4) I am using "reading" and "interpretation" interchangeably because neither could take place without exposure to an event of interest that would generate comprehension or a meaning.

among a wide spectrum of the audience, and therefore maintain the "hegemonic function" of the media in favor of the elitists and their supporters. It is under such conditions that hegemony can flourish and prosper[5]. Researchers tend to agree that the variety of potential readings or interpretations of television texts under this rigorous notion are seen as "bound by the border system for making sense in and assigning values that sustain social relations" (Hay, 1992, p. 356). On the contrary, the "fixable" or polysemous nature of a text outside the "hegemonically structured thought" could contribute to the possible production of readings that are considered a deviation from the creator's wishes. This is commonly known as "negotiated" or "oppositional" reading.

Hall et al. (1980) discussed the tems "negotiated" and "oppositional" reading, which could both affect the outcome of the desired "dominant reading". Negotiated reading questions the social structure but eventually tends to lean towards the dominant reading. Steiner (1991) clarifies it by stating that "[it] makes its own rules, yet it operates within the expectation of the rule" (p. 33). The expectation of the rule may be trusted if hegemony reduces any contradictions in society. Once contradiction is unavoidable, negotiated reading, I argue, could operate against the expectation of the rule. In this manner, it could lean toward "oppositional reading" and generate a challenge for the text and its makers to the degree that it questions the legitimacy of the system. Unlike the negotiated reading, oppositional reading could shake hegemony and eventually affect the credibiltiy of the system itself. This could occur when there is a well-rooted "counter-

(5) This situation may be referred to as a "hegemonic condition, "which could be seen as social and cultural leadership or maintenace of cleavage within a society in terms of class, gender, ideology, etc. in order to preserve some status desired by the leadership.

hegemony" (Mc Guigan, 1995, p. 376) which people are capable of acknowledging and subconsciously perceive as a feasible option, as they lose hope of the existing hegemony. In this manner, a feeble hegemony could result in the spread of an ideological position that energizes opposing readings and interpretations of the text, giving sustenance to the "counter-hegemony". This ideological position, consequently, could become shaken when the secular threatens it by ignoring it. It is from such a perception under "undemocratic" conditions that the existing hegemony could become ineffective while the counter-hegemony retaliates and crusades, leading toward rupture in an uncivilized manner.

Achieving the desired hegemony through television is an on-going process on the part of the elite to perfect the status quo. The challenge derives from keeping television texts aligned with the public's taste and con cerns. If this fails, "oppositional readings" could accumulate and strengthen the alternative ideology among the masses. Consequently, a possible confrontation with the political system may occur, but it is less costly than a clash with dictatorship(6). Thus, an encounter between the ideology of the dominant system and the counter-ideological option could produce turbulence in the sails of the government hegemony and cause confrontation in society. For example, in a 1992 Egyptian film entitled Terrorism and Kebab, the plot caused a significant impact:(7) the leading actor, the director, and the scriptwriter were put on the assassination list of the Islamic Group, who believed that the film was "anti-religious" (Gauch, 1992).

(6) An example is Iran and the transformation of the county from a secular hierarchical system under the Shah to a religious system in 1979.

(7) The plot of this film relates how a bearded religious office worker delays people's work while spending most of his time "murmuring Koranic passages and bowing on the floor in prayer" (Gauch, 1992, p. 14).

The film not only caused the group to react this way, but also questioned the bases under which permission was granted for such content to be produced in the first place. The release of the film may have made the public not only question the government allowing the release of such a film, but also support the grounds on which the Islamic Group based its judgment of the film crew.

Unlike commercial television, in which a range of opininons and values are being transmitted, in the government-owned television, the beliefs and ideologies transmitted are confined to what the ruling class see as appropriate and non-threatening to their own position. In such a case, the task is more challenging and could become more fragile as the government selects and combines different symbols that would reflect its ideology to the subordinate classes. In this fashion, it produces a "system of representation" (e.g., images, myths, and ideas) to express its relation to its material world (White, 1992), In this case it includes its relation to itself (i.e., the secular ideology) and the public. Thus, achieving the desired hegemony through government-owned television is an on-going critical process aiming toward perfecting the status quo by relating the government position to the masses. It is the relation by means of television content between government and masses that this study attempts to understand.

The debate on hegemony by crirical/ cultural scholars in the West is a continual one aiming to detect traces of superiority within the system. They attempt to understand how television "as a system of representation" has "relative autonomy and structuring contradictions" within the dynamic of a larger social system (White, 1992, p. 170). Detecting contradiction in a Western context, I argue, is far more difficult than doing so in non-

Western countries[8]. Many scholars doing such research in the West often look at such a concern in a certain historical period in which they can provide a structuralized argument revealing the societal and political condition during that period (e.g., Anderson, 1993). Others consider racial issues and how racial issues have been portrayed in the media and their implications (e.g., Gray, 1989). Recent studies have looked at gender and the portrayal of females (e.g., Williamson, 1978). On the other hand, hegemony in non-western countries may be far more recognizable and dynamic, especially when we consider that the mass media are often owned or controlled by the government, thus making any concern in society directly associated with the authority. In this manner, hegemony under such conditiond could become visible, since governments usually engineer their media content and at times allow their encroachment to be clearly manifest, especially when there is an apparent threat to the hierarchical system.

The reader may sense that hegemony, particularly in non-Western countries, may be looked at as a normal garment attached to a political system, whereas in the west it is laborious to detect its source. In the West, a "democratic" system, the medium is attached to various institutions: advertising companies, private media outlets, and film production companies. In such a situation, the mass culture always functions to spread the dominant bourgeois idelology among a "unsuspecting" audience, thus decreasing any form of resistance (Radway, 1986). In this kind of environment, hegemony could prosper without any obstacles in its way. It and the system are synonymous.

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(8) In the Western capitalist systems, particularly in the United States, the press could be looked at as a watchdog that functions independently from the govermentt as the democratic theory of the press indicates, slthough some critical/ cultural scholars may argue that this is not the case.

But the failure of hegemony is unavoidable as long as there is an appealing ideology that has the potential to counter it. In Egypt, Islam is resurging and perceived by many people as a feasible and logical solution to the socio-economic problems of the country. Campagna (1996) describes the situation of young lawyers, who are unable to find jobs, thus "generating a flood of anger, and in the absence of any political role... [they] turn to the most potent force in the community, the Islamic tendency, which largely embodies anger againts the state" (p. 290).

Before the Iranian revolution in the late 1970s, the Islamic option had vibrated in all countries of the Middle East since the early part of that decade, and many people, rather than governments, embraced new options despite their societal circumstances. People in Egypt, for example, have realized that there is a deficiency in implementing Islam in the country, where the authorities lack the intention to "operationalize" (Gerholm, 1994) their principles to satisfy the masses' taste and generate from it a "dominant-hegemonic" reading (Real, 1996, p. 107). Such a defect is providing a motive and desire for Muslims to revive Islamic principles in modern life in any way they can. Followers of the Islamic alternative, for example, are posting the motto "Islam is the Solution," literally "in every street corner in Cairo" (Fandy, 1993, p.31). This motto is the most popular slogan of the Brotherhood (the unbrella organization of all Islamic movements) and is used along with their tangible assistance when there is a crisis in the country (e.g., earthquake, fire, flood) (Campagna, 1996). Despite that, any attempts at Islamic revivalism are terminated in hostile ways by the government, thus strengthening the resolve of the opposition. This was reaffirmed recently by Mustafa Mashoor, the General Director of the Muslim Brotherhood, in an interview where he was asked to comment

on the popularity of the "Brotherhood" after the continual hits on it by the authorities. Mashoor replied that the popularity of the Brotherhood is not shaken; they have great belief that "Islam is the solution" and that it possess justice, freedom, and solidarity, especially in these times of unemployment, high costs, and restraints on freedom. He reassured the interviewer that the Brotherhood will not lose its balance because of the government beatings is actually strengthening, motivating, and inspiring the Brotherhood. (Ali, 1997, p. 24).

Resistance to the mass media, according to Robinson (1983), encourages people to adopt alternatives to the media's messages (reported in Steiner, 1991, p. 331). The government, like others in the Islamic world, are not properly taking into consideration people's trends and values. Akbar Ahmed, a pakistani anthropologist and Fellow of Selwyn College at the University of Cambridge, states in an interview with philip Schlesinger (1993) how, throught the media, people are being exposed to values and images unfamiliar to them; nevertheless, such content is "reinforcing their own sense of Islamic identity" (p. 34). Ahmed was referring to media content that is Western, but the Western values and images are in many cases a blueprint for the local media to follow. Gauch (1992) a reporter for the Christian Science Monitor, comments that "in the last few months, negative portrayals of Islamic fundamentalists and extremists have started to appear on Egyptian television and film. While this material was censored before, the government is now not only allowing but also promoting it" (p. 14). The Egyptian government perhaps feels that unfamiliar values and images in television and film content, even so extreme, would persuade the public to swing toward it, after its control over Islamic extremists by means of harsh treatment (e.g., execution, torture, and imprisonment) has

not fully worked. Such a witless approach allows the masses, the audience-to take up a position that previously was limited to the parliamentary opposition. Now the masses may begin to see that their needs are not being fulfilled by those behind the message.

Abu-Lughod (1993) sees the recent situation in Egypt as a "contest" between the Islamic cultural identity and the government. Gauch (1992) further explains how officials in the Egyptian government "broke their silence" by openly asking a screenwriter to write a third sequel to his well-known TV series, Liali al-Halmiah, that portrays an Egyptian town and the effect of Islamic orthodoxy on its families, the communities, and the system. Such programming may appeal to some people, but it opens up a list of question about the motives of the government and their perspective on Islamic trends in the country. Although this trend in the media is described by Abu-Lughod (1993) as "subtle," it has sparked strong reactions because TV is accessible to the majority of Egyptians. Perhaps the Egyptian government shares the view of Steiner (1991) that people may resist the media "either by withdrawing from their assigned role as consumers or by actively struggling against the ideas and images projected" (p. 331). This view is also shared by the Secretary General of the Egyptian Organization of Human Rights, who, when asked about the media "campaign" against Islamic militancy[9], which calls for a decrease in religious programs and the televising of negative portrayals of Islamic fundamentalists, said that "these shows are new. If they increase, it could influence the public [against fundamentalists]" (Gauch, 1992). It appears that the government of Egypt agrees with that perspective. In this fashion. Steiner's (1991) perspective and the Secretary General's view are positions that the govern-

(9) It is not a campaign in Everett Rogers sense, but it is sort of hidden policy.

ment is taking. I share the opinion of a former member of a parliament who stated that: "Groups in the media are leftists and anti-Islam. They don't obey Islamic teachings... The people's impression is that this is not an accurate portrayal of the Islamic groups" (Gauch, p. 14).

It is evident that Egyptian TV has begun to use the media to deal with "fundamentalists" and maintain the "hegemonically structured thought." This tactic is reckless and has the potential to deepen the division in society and reduce the credibility of the media and their owners. It tells us that Islam in Egypt is facing a "crisis of legitimacy" (Hoover and Venturelli, 1996) that can alter the hegemonic situation by making it less convincing and may contribute to its fragility as people realize that the government is not fulfilling their needs. Their view will lead them to take a positive position with regard to Muslim orthodox, who have been actively using other forms of communication to reach the population--mainly interpersonal.

Thus, ideology, which was seen by Gramcsi as a "hegemonic trait," can fuel confrontation between the government's secular ideology and the well-rooted dominant ideology (Islam). Hence, I disagree with Newbold (1995), Who argues that the concept of ideology "allows for the dimension of struggle and opposition, of confrontation between deferring cultures, where hegemony has to be negotiated and won [italics added]" (p. 329). His chaim might be true in a Western democratic environment, but in the current circumstance in the Arab Islamic world there is no room for any form of "negotiation". On that account, I agree with a point in Gamal Abdul-Nasser's autobiography in which he declares that Egypt, at the time of his presidency, was going through political as well as social revolutions. What was seen by Nasser as social revolution took the form of a conflict of classes. Now that the conflict has been narrowed, the middle

class is being polarized toward one side or the other (i.e., poor vs. rich). This displacement makes the social revolution transform into an ideological one which I argue is currently active and could well deflate and rupture hegemony. There are communication channels beside government-owned ones that people in Egypt are depending on for regenerating their solidarity--mostly interpersonal channels. As Tehranian (1984) once stated from his understanding of the Islamic revolution in Iran and the influence of the mullah, "traditional communication systems, if linked to a populist cause and popular institutions, can thus undermine and sometimes overthrow dominant political and communication systems based on the more advanced technologies" (p. 145). It is in such circumstances, I believe, that rupture is possible and can be spotted by people who form a perspective on the government and its media.

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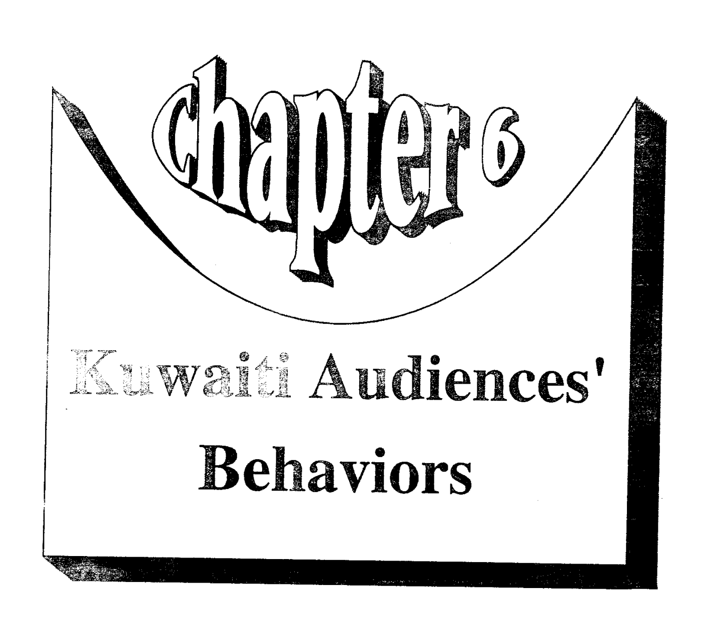
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by
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Kuwaiti Audiences' Behaviors

The television is a frequent topic of conversation, although viewers usually have little to show for the hours spent in front of it. Watching television can be as pleasurable as going to a movie, yet it is almost as cheap and convenient at listening to the radio. Watching television is a major feature of modern life in developed countries and, increasingly, in developing countries. Every year, millions of dollars and man-hours are poured into television-technology, programming and advertising. The object of all this effort is to reach, and communicate with, the audience- to entertain, stimulate, inform, educate, and influence it in some way.

programmers and viewers are linked by an endless circuit of messages. Broadcasters send messages to the audience in the form of television programs, and the audience sends messages back via the ratings. Depending on the audience's response, television executives adjust their offerings. If information did not circulate in both direction, the networks would create shows in the absence of audience preferences, and would soon discover that no one was watching their "shots in the drak".

In selecting television programs, advertisers generally use two measures of program audiences: the program's ratings (the percentage of TV households that have their sets turned to the program at a particular time and it is available in some countries), and the socioeconomic profile of the audience. What often seems to be missing from these measures is any real reference to the audience and how viewers actually watch television. A big problem is that programmers don't know whether their audiences are watching or not. This paper aims to look and explain Kuwaiti audiences' behaviors.

The reasons viewers watch a particular program and, how they do so

are just as important for television prouducers and directors as they are for programmers. Producers and directors include a description of the characteristics of the program's target audinece in their pre-production planning material and use their knowledge of the target audience to guide their decisions at each step of the production process. Even though broadcast television is often though of as a form of mass communication, successful television producers realize that communication takes place between the message and an individual in the audience **(Compesi & Sherriffs, 1997)**. Even though someone may be part of a very large audience, the individual's response to a program is always important. For a message or program to be effective, is must communicate individually to each person in the audience. This is no easy task, given the variations that may exist among different audience members.

Producers need to know as much as possible about the target audience. The more they know about the audiences they are targeting, the easier it is for them to decide on what to show and how to show it in order to generate the desired process massage(s) from the show. Thus, producers and directors do extensive research before they start recording. They want to know the demographic characteristics of the viewers who the program is designed to target, and who will be watching (Zettl, 1998).

Although television is an integral part of modern life, there is still no satisfactory way to evaluate the success or failure of these efforts. What do viewers make of the channel and program choices available to them? How much satisfaction do they derive from television? What needs or wants, however defined, remain unfulfilled? Do advertisements really sell? Do they make us buy things we do not want? How great is television's influence on the audience and on society in general? Is its influence advantageous or detrimental? Can a preponderance of violent programs really warp some minds?

The answers to these and other questions matter not only to those working in television and advertising, but also to those responsible for the medium, and to the public as viewers and consumers. But the question can hardly begin to be answered until one knows how the media are used and how the audience actually behaves.

Media Use

For most people, media use is a very stable habit as well as an outcome of numerous specific and motivated behaviors. Some researchers (e.g., Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, signorielli & Jackson-Beek, 1979) have argues that the amount of individual "exposure" to television (time spent viewing) is a fundamental and enduring trait, comparable to such demographic chararctrtistics as age and education and having as much influence on attitudes and behavior. It is clear from many international comparisons that the frequency and type of media use vary a good deal from one country to another. Even within a fairly similar social and economic environment, such as Western Europe and the Middle East, there are large differences in time spent viewing television (McCain, 1986).

Even if audiences were often aggregates made up of scattered individuals, their formation was shaped by forces in the social environment that led to distinct patterns in their overall composition. The more choices that became available, the more selective people were in their attention, guided by differences of interest or need (Sears & Freedman, 1971; Zillmann & Bryant, 1985).

McQuail (1997) sees that the basic premise of the media use is that media use is shaped largely by certain relatively constant elements of social sturcture and media structure. Social structure refers to "social facts," such as education, income, gender, age, and residency, that have a strong determining influence on general outlook and behavior. Media structure refers

to the relatively constant array of channels, choices, and content available in a given place and time. The media system responds to pressures and to feedback from audiences, in order to maintain a stable, selfregualting balance between supplies and demand.

Katz, Gurevitch, and Haas (1973) argue that people bend the media to their needs more readily than the media over-power them, and that the media are at least as much agents of diversion and entertainment as of information and influence. They aruge, moreover, that the selection of media and content, and the uses to which they are put, are considerably influenced by social role and psychological perdisposition.

Katz, et al. (1973) see the mass media as a means used by individuals to connect or disconnect themselves with others. They listed 35 needs taken from literature on the social and psychological functions of mass media and placed them into five categories of mass media functions: cognitive needs (the acquiring of information, knowledge and understanding), affective needs (the need for emotional and aesthetic experience, love and friendship; the desire to see beautiful things), personal integrative needs (the need for self-confidence, stability, status, reassurance), social integrative needs (the need for strengthening contacts with family, friends and others), and tension release needs (the need for escape and diversion).

Audience Activity

The concept of an active audience has long been central to uses and gratification research. Audience members are seen as active because they select and use media content to satisfy specific communication needs. Blumer (1979) identified four meanings that comprised "audience activity": (a) utility, or people's reasons or motivations for communicating; (b) intentionality, or the purposive or planned nature of communicating; (c) selectivitys, or communication choice, which is based on prior interests and de-

sires; and (d) imperviousness to influence, or Bauer's (1964) notion of the obstinate audience. All audience members, though, are not equally or absolutely active. This variability in utility, intention, and selection affects communication behavior and outcomes. Blumer's argument that activity is an important variable in the process has been empirically examined by others. (e.g., Levy & Windahl, 1984, 1985, Rubin & Perse, 1987a, 1987b).

Scholars have sometimes used the concept of an active audience in an effort to explain why mass communication appeared to have only limited effects (Perry, 1996). Presumably, active engagement with the media made people resistant to persuasion, for example. Researchers now recognize that audience activity may enhance effects as well, for example, more active engagement with television news may make people more susceptible to its influence. In addition, modern researchers tend to treat audiences as variably, rather than absolutely, active (Rubin, 1993). As commonly used, audience activity.

> postulates a voluntaristic and selective orientation by audiences toward the communication process. In brief, it suggests that media use is motivated by needs and goals that are defined by audience members themselves, and that active participation in the communication process may facilitate, limit, or otherwise influence the gratifications and effects associated with exposure (Levy & Windahl, 1985, p.110).

Levy and Windahl (1984, 1985) proposed a typology of audience activity along two dimensions. Frist, preactivity occurs before exposure, duractivity during exposure, and postactivity after exposure. Second, each of these may involve selectivty, involvement, and utility orientations. Selectivity refers to "nonrandom selections of one or more behavioral, perceptual, or cognitive media-relared activities" (Levy & Windahl, 1985, p.

112). Selective exposure seeking (an individual's decisions about what content to watch or read, based on anticipated gratifications) exemplifies preactivity selectivity, for example. As such, the definition is broader that the use of selective exposure in persuasion research. In persuasion, selective exposure usually refers to someone's tendecy to seek information that is congruent with his or her attitudes. Involvement thus refers to "the degree to which an audience member perceives a connection between him or herself and mass media with a medium or its meassages" (Levy & Windahl, 1985, p. 112).

Attention to a message represents one form of duractivity involvement. Utility refers to the use of media by individuals "for manifold social and psychological purposes" (Levy & Windahl, 1985, p. 112). For instance, after reading a newspaper a person may discuss what he or she read with others; according to Levy and Windahl (1985), this is a postactivity. Some researchers use somewhat different categorizations of activity, however; Rubin & Perse (1987a, 1987b) observed that, in general, activity measures were positively related. That is, level of audience activity were some what consistent across qualitative and temporal dimensions in soap opera and local news viewing. Levy (1987) found only modest relationships between dimensions of activity in videocassette recorder (VCR) users. Interterm correlations were larger within qualitative dimensions than within temporal dimensions. As (Perse and Rubinm 1988) worte, "People are not differentially selective and goal-directed at different times: before, during and after media exposure. Within temporal dimensions, types of activity have been linked to viewing outcomes" (p. 369).

Before exposure. Cognition attitudes and behavior before exposure have been linked to media outcomes. Perceiving discrepancies between gratifications sought and obtained has explained public television exposure, news program choice and news program satisfaction (palmgreen, Wenner & Rayburn, 1981). Television attitudes, espesially perceived real-

ism and affinity, have contributed to parasocial interaction, cultivation and local news involvement (Rubin, Perse & Powell, 1985). Intentionality has been related to news program selectivity. Lemish (1985) observed that college students arranged their schedules to watch a soap opera, formed program-centered groups, paid attention to the program and discussed the content with others.

During exposure. Cognitions and feelings people experience during media exposure also influence media outcomes. The cognitive response approach to persuasion, for example, has shown that the amount and type of message-related thought mediate attitude change (Petty, Ostrom. & Brock, 1981). Viewing attention levels have been linked to agenda setting and knowledge gain from television news (Hill, 1986). In addition, as a sense of friendship develops in audience members towards a media personality, parascial interaction reflects affective involvement during exposure (Horton & Wohl, 1956). This has commonly been considered a media effect. Some researchers, though, have suggested that parasocial interaction influenced other attitudes and behaviors, such as program choice, interpersonal interaction, occupational and children's play activity.

After exposure. Postexposure cognition and discussion have been associated with media outcomes. Various mental activities after exposure, such as rehearsal of observed behavior, have been proposed as forming the basis of social learning (Tan, 1986). Diffusion researchers have found interpersonal discussion of media content to be associated with innovation trial and adoption (Rogers, 1983), and interpersonal discussion of news programs has been associated with greater news recall. (Robinson & Levy, 1986).

Television audience studies have found that television viewing is far from a well-planned, selective, and purposeful activity. For example, in terms of motivation, television viewing is significantly associated with

"process seeking," which means passive television viewing for the sake of viewing regardless of content (Gantz, 1978; Jeffres, 1978; Rubin, 1981, 1983, 1984; Youn, 1993). In addition, the tendency of programs on the same channel to have a disproportionately large duplicated audience has been routinely observed (Baldwin & Youn, 1994).

Furthermore, current channel segmentation, which is directed toward program type specialization, shows that program types are perceived as a major factor or guide of viewers' choice programmers.

Variations in such activities are often assumed to result in part from audience motives, or gratifications sought, as well as attitudes toward a medium or its content, such as perceived realism and news affinity (i.e., how much importance someone atteches to the news). An important empirically based distinction exists between instrumental and ritualized motives and use. Instrumental media use involves relatively active exposure to epecific types of material. "It is marked by using a medium's content for information utilty reasons, and affinity with and perceived realism of that content, "according to Rubin & Perse (1987b, p. 59). It highlights the active seeking of massages to gratify certain needs and provides a contrast to the habitual, entertainment motivational structure that found gratification in increased television watching, but not in specific program content. Informational viewers use television in order to learn about people, places and events and to instrumentally use this information in interpersonal interaction (Rubin, 1983). Insturumental use "entails selectivity, intentionality, and involvement of media consumers" (Conway & Rubin, 1991, p. 444). In general, an instrumental use of television is reflected in more use of program guides to plan viewing, greater planning of time to watch specific programs, ans more thought about program content (Perse, 1990).

Ritualized use concerns the medium more than its content. It is "associated with diffuse motives (e.g., passing of time, habit, relaxation)

and more exosure to an affinity with the medium" (Perse & Rubin, 1987b, p. 59). for example, one might turn on the televiaion to leatn about tomorrow's weather (a form of instrumental use) or simply because one is accustomed to doing so to relax. An instrumental orientation occurs frequently with exposure to news and other and informational contents, while ritualized media use often involves entertainment contents.

Some studies claim that people who don't watch televiaion have become a vanishing breed (Jackson-Beek & Robinson, 1981; Tankard & Harris, 1980). However, those who watch television differ a great deal in the intensity of their love affair with televiaion. Studies of the televiaion audience since the 1950s have shown substantial variations in televiaion consumption by demographic categories (Comstock, 1989). For example, Comstock, Chaffee, Katzman, McComb, and Roberts (1978) summarized televiaion research in the first two half decades of televiaion as follows:

* Women watch more television than men;
* Those of the lower socioeconomic status (the poorer and the less educated) watch more than those of higher SES;
* Black people watch more than white people;
* People over 50, especially women, watch more than others; and
* The fewer the people living in household, the more the viewing by individuals.

These general findings have been supported by later research dealing with age (Davis & Kubey, 1982), ethnicity (Greenberg, 1986; Roberts & Bachen, 1981), gender (Comstock, 1991), Education (Bower, 1985; Roberts & Bachen, 1981), and socioeconomic status (Comstock, 1991). These findings led Comstock (1991) to conclude that the demographic variables associated with amount of viewing have not changed since the widespread adoption of the medium four decades ago.

Audience Behavior

Many researchers have developed mathematical equations or models that permit the prediction of audience behavior. Some have even gone so far as to posit laws of viewing behavior. These laws, of coures, do not bind each person to a code of conduct; rather, they are statements that, in the aggregate, behavior is so predictable as to exhibit law-like tendencies.

In choosing a starting point for studying audience behavior, researchers believe behaviors at the hour and half-hour would be studied first. Despite continuing changes to viewer options, the structure in which viewing behaviors occur is still primary defined in 30-minute (or multiplies of 30) program units (Heeter, 1988; Heeter, D'Allessio, Greenberg & McVoy, 1988).

Taking programs as the primary unit, what behaviors should be examined to better understand patterns in how the viewing experience is constructed? It is necessary to take a behavioral rather than cognitive perspective to describe what viewers do, and how their behavior group into styles. Hawkins, Reynolde and Pingree (1991) grouped behaviors into three classes:

Overall viewing activity. This is a behavior that occupies time and is traded off against other behaviors. one behavior might be the number of viewing episodes, where additional episodes implies more selection, particulary when watching is the activity. Another behavior is the length of continuous viewing, often taken to indicate degree of involvement as well as awareness. Within an episode of continuous viewing, some viewers may change the channel frequrntly while others may not, this provides an indicator of degree of content selection within the overall activity of television viewing.

Content decisions. The aspect of the content selection behavior per-

tains to loyalty to individual series. Both Goodhardt et al. (1987) and Webster and Wakshlag (1982) phrase this choice primarily in terms of either passively staying with a channel despite a change in genre or actively changing channels to pursue the same genre. But at a half-hour point of continuing viewing, two other choices are possible. One may continue to watch the same channel as a new program of the same genre is presented (termed "hammock," from the programming practice that makes this a common behavior), and thus one's degree of intent is ambiguous. Or, one may change channels to watch a program of a different genre ("diversity seeking").

Program stability. Based on the findings of Heeter et al. (1988), an important aspect of viewing style is whether or how often viewers change channels during a program. Doing so might reflect lessened involvement with a program, or might be another manifestation of an overall high level of change-seeking or selection activity.

Webster and Lichty (1991) have identified two broad perspectives that are most often used to explain audience behavior. The first emphasizes the importance of individual viewer traits in determining program choice. Under this approach, theoretical interest tends to focus on viewer needs, preferences, and other mental states (e.g., Rosengren, Wenner & Palmgreen, 1985; Zillmann & Bryant, 1985). While this strategy has been useful in predicting exposure in laboratory environments or in explaining the consequences of exposure once it has occurred, it has not been particularly useful in unraveling the mass behavior of greater concern to the industry.

The second perspective on audience behavior, according to Webster and Lichty (1991), eschews individual traits and concentrates on cross and cumulative measures of audience size. While individual-level variables are sometimes used to create aggregate audience measurements (such as men and women, and old and young), theoretical interest is more apt to focus

on the power of structural variables, such as total audience availability or the scheduling characteristics of the program, to explain audience behavior. Such "structuralist" approaches have had some success in predicting program ratings, patterns of audience flow, and channel loyalty (e.g., Goodhardt et al., 1987; Webster, 1989; Webster & Newton, 1988).

The distinction between these perspectives is not always clear, nor is one more "right" than the other. Nonetheless, Webster and Lichty (1991) have argued for an approach in which structural determinants are given priority in explaining mass audience behavior, while individual level factors receive secondary attention.

Another view on this issue involves study by Webster and Phalen (1997), who argue that the behavior of the mass audience can be determined at the interface between individual audience members and media. To explain how that interface takes shape and changes over time, they consider two broad categories of factors: audience factors and media factors. Each has a substantial effect on patterns of exposure. Whatever the explanation, the size of the available audience, like other forms of mass behavior, is quite predictable.

Three patterns are apparent: seasonal, daily, and hourly, and are evident in both categories. Seasonal patterns of media use clearly evident in television viewing behavior. (Barnett, Chang, Fink & Richards, 1991; Gensch & Shaman, 1980). Nationwide, television use is heaviest in the winter months of January and February; indicating that the television audience is larger in the winter and smaller in the summer. Additionally, underneath these household-level data, different segments of the population exhibit unique patterns (Webster and Phalen, 1997). For example, when school is not is session, daytime viewing among children and teenagers soar

In broadcasting, audience size varies by day of the week. Nation-

wide, primetime television audiences are higher on Monday through Thursday and sunday, and lower on Fridays and Saturdays. The late-night audience (e.g., midnight) on Friday and Saturday, however, is larger than it is during the rest of the week (Webster and Phalen, 1997). Again, this reflects a change in people's social activities on the weekends. The most dramatic shifts in audience availability, however, occur on an hourly basis.

As with audience factors, media factors can be categorized as structural or individual. The structural attributes of the media complement the structural features of the mass audience (McQuail, 1996). They include market conditions, modes of distribution, and the organization of available content. Individual level media factors vary in tandem with individual audience attributes, defining differences in the media environment from household.

Kline (1971) suggested that people turn the set on out of habit without much of advance thought about what they will watch. After the set is on, they simply choose the least objectionable program from available offerings. In effect, what Kline suggested was that audience behavior is a two-stage process in which a decision to use the media precedes the selection of specific content. The tendency of people to turn on a set without regard to programming is often taken as evidence of a passive audience-although that label seems needlessly value-laden. The conceptual alternative, a thoroughly active audience, seems unrealistic. Such an audience would turn on a set whenever favorite programs were aired, and turn off a set when they were not.

The key question of how television viewers decide which program to watch is a complex one. The uses and gratifications approach contends that individual viewers watch specific programs because they satisfy certain needs (e.g. Rosengren, Wenner & Palmgreen, 1985; Bryant & Zillmann, 1985). Those working within this approach assume the choice of a pro-

gram centers upon the active expression of a preference for programs of program types. However, structural factors, described earlier as program scheduling characterisitic that might produce certain viewing behaviors, have traditionally been considered important mediators of the programs viewers choose and thus complicate the relationship between viewing preference and viewing behavior.

These structural factors are found in the study of audience duplication, which is recognized as a major component of program choice models and a fundamental aspect in understanding viewing patterns (Litman & Kohl, 1992). In its simplest from, audience duplication is the percentage of viewers who watch program "X" who also watch program "Y," regardless of different channels or days (Webster, 1985). The four recognized components of audience duplication research-inheritance effects, repeat viewing channel loyalty, and repeated exposure-identify some special tendency for the audience of one program to be represented in the audience of another program and are used by both the television industry and media scholars to explain patterns of viewing. Research has shown that these variables can explain as much as 80 percent to 90 percent of the variance in a program's audience (e.g. Cooper, 1993; Webster, 1985).

Interest in audience duplication originally stemmed from advertiser's concerns about the duplication of audiences within and between programs (Agostini, 1961, 1962; Kitsch & Banks, 1962; Steiner, 1952). Early economic theorists assumed that television program choice was the direct result of an individual's active program preference. In other words, viewers have a most-preferred program option that they will select from available options when give the opportunity to do so. These early models were based on the premise that program choice was determined by preference because each program had no cost advantage over any other (Bowman & Farley 1972).

However, a number of researchers (e.g., Gensch & Shaman, 1980; Owen, Beebe & Manning, 1974) suggested that the reason people watch a television program often depends simply on that program's availability, not on active need. Early assumptions were further weakened after several studies (Comstock, 1980; Webster, 1985; Webster & Wakshlag, 1983) indicated that structural factors, including availability, the time of day, the compatibility of program types between programs, and the number of program options, were significant predictors of program choices.

In 1963, Steiner published a landmark audience survey, The People Look at Television. That study and subsequent replications (Bower, 1973, 1985), drew the linkage between preference and exposure into serious question:

> Another, seemingly peculiar, finding of Steiner in 1960 was the lack of relationship between expressed attitudes toward television and the public's actual patterns of viewing... It seemed peculiar because social scientists often seek and usually find a congruence between attitudes and behavior. Steiner's findings might have been set aside as another of those one-time flukes that appear in social research had we not had the opportunity to examine it twice more-in 1970 by replicating the 1960 procedures in Minneapolis/St. Paul and in 1980 by a "last-night's" viewing diary. It would not be accurate to say that in the two replications no relationship was found between what people said and what they did, but certainly it was a minuscule one (Bower, 1985, p. 132).

Another large-scale study, featuring elaborate schemes of audience segmentation based on needs, interest, and conventional demographics, produced a similar result:

> The interest segmentation scheme accounts for differences in program type television viewing behavior as well as the demographic scheme separately nor both of them in combination, however, explain a very high percentage in the variation in viewing behavior (Frank & Greenberg, 1980, p. 218).

Nor do the patterns of program-type loyalty found in perference data seem to manifest themselves in analogous patterns of viewing. Based on a long-standing program of audience research dating back to the 1960s, marketing researchers concuded "there is no special tendency across the population for people who watch one program of a given type to also watch others of the same type" (Goodhardt et al., 1987, p. 45).

These results do not mean that audience preferences are irrelevant to audience behavior, but they do imply that these factors are not as closely linked as is widely assumed. There are several explanations for the disparity between what people say or think and what they actually do. Although many theorists tend to ignore this factor, outside the laboratory it effectively constrains program choice. Because availability is generally unrelated to content, it infuses audience behavior with an apparent randomness (Webster & Phalen, 1997). Further explanation can be found in the way media offerings are structured.

Most research and theory on the relationship between preference and choice focuses on the individual and assumes that personal preferences can be freely exercised in the selection of the media content. Much of media use, however, is done not in isolation, but in the company of others (Webster & Phalen, 1997); this is especially true of television viewing and moviegoing. Even with the advent of multitelevision households and VCRs, group viewing is a common phenomenon. (Bower, 1985).

What little research there is about the dynamics of group viewing

suggests that negotiation among competing preferences is quite usual (Bogart, 1972; Lull, 1982; Morely, 1986). Different members of the family seem to exercise more or less influence at different times of the day; for example, programmers make much of the fact that children are often in control of television sets in the late afternoon when they return from school (Eastman, 1993). Exposure to television programming, then results not only from who is available and what they like, but also from who actually makes the program selections. People get their first choice some of the time, but can be outvoted at other times. If they are overruled, however, they will often stay with the viewing groups. Like availability, this has the effect of making program choices seem more random with respect to content. That randomness is most pronounced when the composition of the decision-making group varies overtime (Webster & Wakshlag, 1982).

Another significant audience factor is awareness, or knowledge of the media offerings available to the viewers. Much theorizing about the audience presupposes a perfect awareness on the part of audience members; program selection is assumed to occur with a full knowledge of programming options. Although that assumption may work on a very abstract level or in very simple media environments, it does not seem to work well in the media-rich environments that confront most audience members (Heeter, 1988; Heeter & Greenberg, 1985).

If, as is sometimes the case, people select media offerings without a full understanding of their options, the interpretation of choices as an expression of preference is complicated. How many times has a person missed a favorite TV show because he or she did not know it was there? How often has a person discovered a favorite program or song after it first aired? As more and more media compete for the attention of the audience, these sorts of breakdowns between preference and choice are likely to be increasingly common.

The role that audience preferences play in determining audience behavior, then, is far less tidy than one might wish. If an item attracts a small audience, it may indicate that people found it unappealing. But it could also be that the desired audience was unavailable, or perhaps people just did not know the item was there for taking. Funthermore, audience factors are only half of the picture; the structure of the media has a powerful impact on patterns of exposure.

Webster and Wakshlag (1983) integrated the disparate theoretical perspectives of uses and gratifications and "models of choice." Their model captured the likely interaction among programming structures, content preferences, and viewing conditions in the program choice process. In doing so, the model elevated the theoretical importance of structural determinants. According to Webster and Wakshlag (1983), program scheduling and viewer availability are important determinants of the programs viewers choose. The structure of program options are "structural factors that seem to predict choice" (p. 434), while program type preference was considered a probable cause for specific program preferences. Finally, Webster and Wakshlag considered viewer availability to be most responsible for the absence of content-based patterns of viewing.

Webster and Wakshlag's finding concur with Comstock's (1980) contention that the decision of whether to watch is largely passive, while the decision of what to watch appears more active. In other words, once the commitment is made to watch television, viewers actively choose from the options before them. It has been widely argued that this two-step decision process highlights the weakness of using program preference as the only predictor of viewership (Heeter, 1985).

Webster & Wakshlag's (1983) model is premised upon two important assumptions that merit reconsideration. First, the model assumes that the structure of available program options is fixed. What is the power of

structural variables when the structure itself changes specifically in the direction of more television channels and new forms of media? This may reduce the "binding" nature of structural determinants and make the decision of whether to watch television more active.

Second, the model assumes that programs are "good" in that available programs have an equal cost to viewers. Today, more than 60 percent of U.S. households pay for their programming through subscription to a local cable service. Nearly half of these households pay additional money for one or more "premium" pay cable channels (Nielson, 1995). Moreover, a significant number of people pay for video rentals, direct broadcast satellite content and internet services, among others. Thus, the choice process is becoming much more complex than simply choosing among television channels.

As the number of program choices increases, a question arises: how will viewers make their choices? past audience studies have found that television viewing is far from a well-planned, selective, attentive, and purposeful activity. For example in terms of motivation, television viewing is significantly associated with "process seeking," which means passive television viewing for the sake of viewing regardless of content (Gantz, 1978; Jeffres, 1978; Rubin, 1981, 1983, 1984; Youn, 1993). In addition, the tendency of programs on the same channel to have a disproportionately large duplicated audience has been routinely observed (Baldwin & Youn, 1994; Darmon, 1976; Goodhardt et al., 1975; Rao, 1975; Webster & Wakshlag, 1983). As the number of the program choice options expands, will this indiscriminate television viewing change? With more choices, will television viewers become more selective, will they completely lose their sense of control in a plethora of choices and delve into more passive, indiscriminate television viewing habit?.

Past studies that attempted to identify program type based on view-

ers' preference consistently produced meaningfully interpretable program type factors (Bowman & Farley, 1972; Bruno, 1973; Frank, Becknell & Cloaskey, 1971; Gensch & Schman, 1980). Program type preference is also consistent with everyday experience (e.g., some people like sports programs while some prefer soaps operas). Furthermore, current channel segmentation, which is directed toward program type specialization, shows that program types are perceived as a major factor or guide of viewers' choice by programmers (Youn, 1994).

It is expected that as program choices increase, some viewers will become more selective in terms of program type preference (Youn, 1994). That is, as viewers are provided with more program options, they wil have a better chance to choose programs closer to their own preferences. Therefore, it is proposed that, in a multichannel situation, television' viewers' program choices will coincide with program type preference more than they would in a broadcast-channel-only situation.

The television industry believes that viewership can be increased (or maintained) simply by properly structuring the "flow" of programs (Cooper, 1996). As Webster (1986) points out, there are three different questions that arise in relation to the "flow" of the television audience-inheritance, repeat viewing, and channel loyalty. Each of these represents one of the ways in which programmers hope to capture and keep a larger of the audience.

Inheritance effects. Inheritance effects are viewed as a special instance of audience duplication between adjacent programs. There is a strong belief among programmers that successful schedules are built and sustained through the carryover effect of audiences staying with one channel from program to program (e.g., Cooper, 1993; Davis & Walker. 1990; Goodhardt, Ehrenberg & Collins, 1975, 1987). In other words, programs are thought to "inherit" viewers from the immediately preceding (led-in) or

following (lead-out) television shows on the same channel. Lead-in is considered a more powerful predictor of a program's audience than the lead-out (Cooper, 1993; Teiddge & Ksobeich, 1988; Webster, 1985) because viewers are thought to "flow" the lead-in program rather than prematurely watch a program in anticipation of the one that follows.

The adherence by industry and scholars to the power of inheritance effects is based on the implicit assumption that viewers are, to some degree, "passive" watchers of television; they watch a particular program simply because it follows one they were already watching (Cooper, 1996). Regardless of whether this belief is true, it is not suprising that inheritance levels are so strong. Adjacent programs share a high number of viewers and a high number of the same people tend to watch television in adjacent time periods. Thus, correlations will often be duplication variables because the measured available audience between two adjacent programs is so closely related.

Two "mediating" variables have also been shown to influence the lead-in effect (Cooper, 1993). Until recently, research consistently found a strong relationship between the number of program options available at the interface between two programs and the size of the duplicated audience. In other words, the correlation between a program's rating (or share) and that of its lead-in grows larger as fewer options are available to viewers at the time of selection (Davis & Walker, 1990; Tiedge & Ksobiech, 1986; Walker, 1988; Webster, 1985). Theoretically, viewers are unlikely to switch to programs on another channel if no new programs are beginning on the other channels at the same time. Likewise, if programs are of the same general type, people who prefer a particular genre may be likely to watch both programs. Indeed, programs with lead-ins of the same type (e.g., sitcoms following sitcoms) have been shown to produce stronger

correlations than lead-ins of a different type (Davis & Walker, 1990; Tiedge & Ksobiech, 1986; Webster, 1985).

Channel Loyalty. Channel loyalty research involves the determination of whether viewers indicate some tendency to choose programs on a particular channel. When considered from a structural standpoint, the customary phrase "channel loyalty" would more appropriately be termed "within-channel duplication," because most studies in this area have used aggregate data to indicate whether viewers tend to watch programs on a single channel. Although research (e.g., Goodhardt et al., 1975, 1987; Headen, Klompmaker & Rust, 1979) has demonstrated strong within-channel duplication levels, few recent studies have demonstrated the degree to which channel factors may infuence audience exposure.

From a structural viewpoint, the selection of a program by a local viewer on a specific channel is influenced at least indirectly by the type of channel (affiliate or independent) and the type of signal (VHF or UHF) (Cooper, 1996). These variables are further mediated by the configuration of a market, as well as cable, VCRs and other media technologies might enhance the probability of inertia occurring from program to program. This inertia is "mediated" by other options that become available, by awareness of these options, and by the ease of "activating" these options (i.e., a remote control device). Together, these interacting factors contribute to the size of the audience for an individual program.

Despite these shortcomings, channel loyalty would appear to have relevance in explaining audience behavior, particulary with expanded media sources now available. In general, it would appear that the control a network or local station has of projecting an image of itself to viewers might produce higher within-channel duplication levels. Although cable certainly reduces the overall influence of local channels by increasing the number of options available to many viewers, most viewers continue to

use local channels as part of a consistent "repertoire" of channels (Ferguson, 1992; Heeter, 1988). Few viewers, even those with remote control devices, take full advantage of the range of the channels available to them; individual viewers differ, however, in what those channels are. These findings suggest that subscriptions to cable certainly increases channel use, but the "expansion" is much smaller than one might think.

Repeat Viewing. Repeat viewing is the degree to which the same people watch different episodes of a serial from day to day or week to week (McQuail, 1997). Although proprietary studies of audience behavior have occurred since the earliest days of television, the first published research on repeat viewing appeared in 1975 (Goodhardt et al., 1975). The picture that emerged suggested that repeat viewing for all television series hovered at around 55 percent. In other words, of those saw a program one-day, just over half would watch the following episode either the next day or the next week, no matter when it was broadcast. The level of audience turnover occurred even though the program rating of each individual episode remained constant. Furthermore, most studies found no variation in repeat viewing by the type of series under investigation, although subsequent research reported moderately higher levels of repeat viewing for soap operas (Barwise, Ehrenberg & Goodhardt, 1982). As in inheritance effects, the overall phenomenon evidently results from underlying patterns of audience availability. In the case of repeat viewing, the 55 percent level occurs because most of the missing 45 percent simply aren't watching television (Barwise, Ehrenberg & Goodhardt, 1982).

The content of a television series would seem to have implications for patterns of repeat viewing. Notwithstanding the audience for soap opera, as recently as 1987, Goodhardt et al. reported "there is virtually no systematic variation by program type or content. Repeat viewing of a serial

with a continuing story-line is generally not higher than that for a regular film shot with radically different showings each week" (p. 114).

Intuition would suggest that a continuing storyline would draw curious viewers from one episode to the next, thereby producing higher levels of repeat viewing. There is, however, a powerful relationship between how a program is scheduled and its repeat viewing levels; there is also a significant relationship between repeat viewing and program type (Webster & Phalen, 1997).

Webster and Phalen (1994) argue that variation in repeat viewing levels is quite predictable as long as the scheduling characteristics of programs and, to a lesser extent, their content are considered. The most important correlates of repeat viewing are what have been referred to as structural factors. Of these, the scheduling factor is the most powerful determinant of repeat viewing. This is a combination of two confounded factors: daypart (a surrogate for availability), and stripped versus non-stripped programming.

Technology and Audience Behavior

The development of cable and satellite television, VCRs, camcordres, computers, compact discs and so on all have a major impact on how television audiences are behaving (Kent, 1994). The most widely anticipated and well-documented effect of new media on audience behavior is audience fragmentation (Salvaggio and Brayant, 1989). Increased channel capacity has allowed new program services to enter the marketplace and to compete for the viewer's attention; each service has, in turn, laid claim to some portion of the time people spend watching television. The total television audience that once distributed its viewing across four or five channels may now spread its viewing across dozens. In the aggregate, then the audience is said to have become increasingly fragmented.

Generally speaking, the phenomenon of fragmentation is a function of the number and the strength of channel options available to viewers. For example, pay cable subscribers[1] are known to distribute their viewing more widely than basic cable subscribers[2] (Webster, 1983). Across the entire audience then, as more independent stations go on the air, more people subscribe to cable, and as the systems to which people already subscribe expand their services, fragmentation is likely to increase. Further, although reliable data sets are currently hard to come by, it is probable that rapid growth in VCR-equipped houdeholds will facilitate the general trend toward fragmentation.

Audience fragmentation, then, ia s feature of aggregate audience behavior that occurs in response to the increased availability of channels. It has important inplications for the viability of new media and the economic well being of older broadcast media. Further, to the degree that new media curtail the ability of the broadcast networks to command vast heterogeneous audiences at any point in time, fragmentation may also have larger social implications. Certainly the ability of television to provide society with some common ground, a core of shared experiences, has been an important aspect of the meduim's presumed power (Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Hirsch,. 1982).

The existing literature and evidence from earlier periods of media change suggest that audience members can produce two major responses to new offerings: rejection, or some type of adoption and integration of the new offerings into the existing order (Becker and Schoenbach, 1989).

Adoption and integration are of three types. First, the new media can

1- Cable arrangement that charges the cable subscribers on a per-program basis.

2- Basic cable services include channels allocated for educational and public-access purposes in addition to the major network affiliates in an area.

effect change in the allocation of resources. The most important resources appear to be attention, time, money and space (Becker & Schoenbach, 1989). For a new medium to gain audience support, it must receive at least some of these resources. They can be taken from other media, nonmedia activities, or from both. It is important to keep in mind that all media compete for attention, time, money, and space with a wide range of services that are not media-delivered. In the area of entertainment, for example, the media compete with a growing number of recreational industries that are also trying fiercely to win resources.

A second type of adoption and integration of audience response to new media is in their behavior combined with, or following, a reallocation of resources, This includes changes in the situations of media use or the social context of media use. For example, individual rituals (such as time of day of watching) or behavior could be altered by introduction of a VCR, because the materials watched on video may attract more attention that regular television, the actual time spent on televisions may remain the same. Or, the way families watch television, once cable is in the household, may change, although there might not necessarily be a change in the amount of time spent with television, or even in the type of programs watched.

The third type of audience change is intrinsically bound to the content of the new media. For example, audience members could change their views of the world as a result of the introduction of the new media content. Again, some adaptation or reallocation of resources is necessary for this to take place, although total attention, time, money or space remains constant.

This discussion of change has been in terms of individual audience behaviors. Such changes in individual behaviors can have significant societal implications. Societies in which audience members allocate resources to one industry at the expense of another would be expected to differ from societies with other allocation formulas. For example, if too many individ-

uals in a society allocate resources entirely to entertainment, the political system will suffer.

Even if there is no form of individual adaptation and integration of the new media by audience members, media organizations may continue to exist. Government subsidies in a variety of forms, allocated for a variety of reasons, can keep these organizations operating even when audiences have rejected them. The presence or absence of these industries can nonetheless have impact on other media industries. Industry or organizational adaptation as a result of new media is an important issue, although not one of prime concern to this study.

The Survey

In order to learn more about the viewing behaviors of the Kuwaiti audiences and know how they watch television, the author randomly selected placed in Kuwait representing the major communities in all the five governates. The author randomly selected the sample by counting every fifth person who entered those places. Face-toface interviews were conducted on a quota sample of 400 Kuwaiti nationals to provide information about the Kuwaiti audiences. This study is based on a sample that represents the Kuwaiti citizens, age 15 and older, by gender and geographical location. The overall sampling error is ± 4.9 % at the 95 % confidence level.

The Results

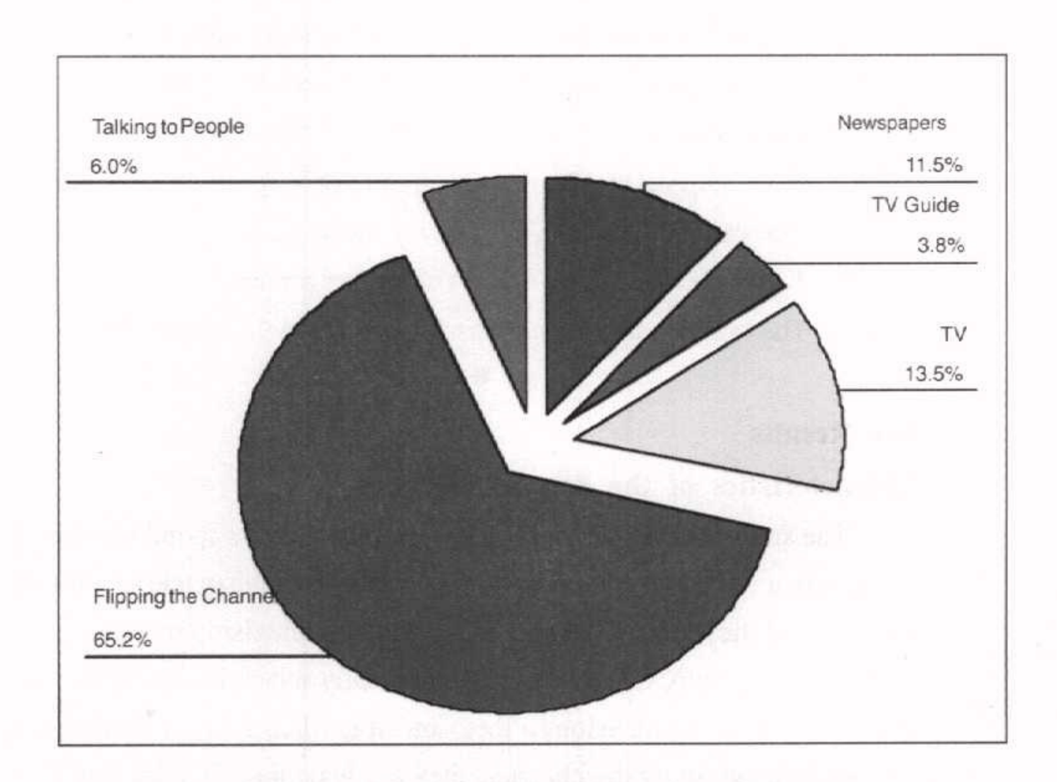
Characteristics of the Kuwaiti Viewers

The study shows that most of the Kuwaiti viewers spend between 2 to 3 hours a day from Saturday to Wednesday watching television (see graph 1) and they learn what will be showing on television by surfing the channels (see graph 2). They rarely set their daily schedules based on what will be showing on television so they don't miss their favorite shows, and they sometimes select the channels they are watching. In addition, they

sometimes change the channels when there are commercials or when the shows they were watching end. They prefer to watch drama, news, and entertainment (see graph 3). Most of them never contacted Kuwaiti newspapers or Kuwait television to give their feedback about what was on television. They watch television mainly to pass time and to satisfy their information needs (see table 1). Most viewers have, an average, two or three television sets and own two VCRs. Most of the Kuwaiti viewers don't have television sets in their kitchen and half of them have television sets in their bedrooms. Most of them have at least one satellite receiver.

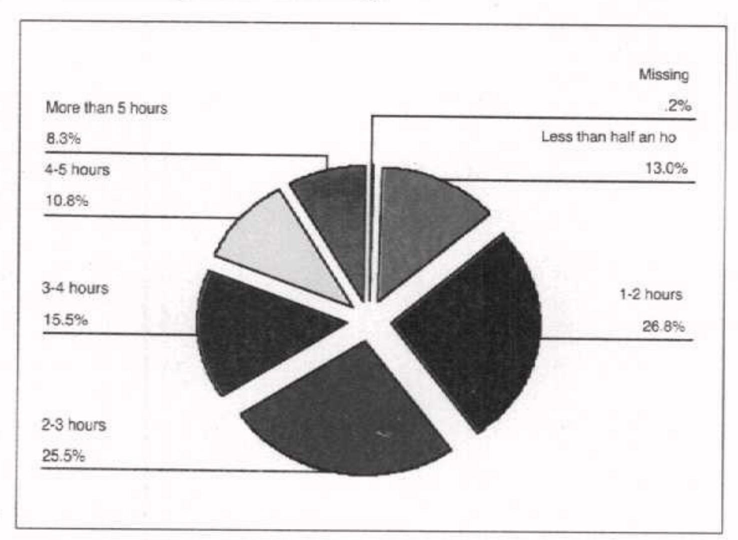
Graph 1

Learning what will be on Television



Graph 2

Number of Hours Spent Watching



Graph 3

Program Preference

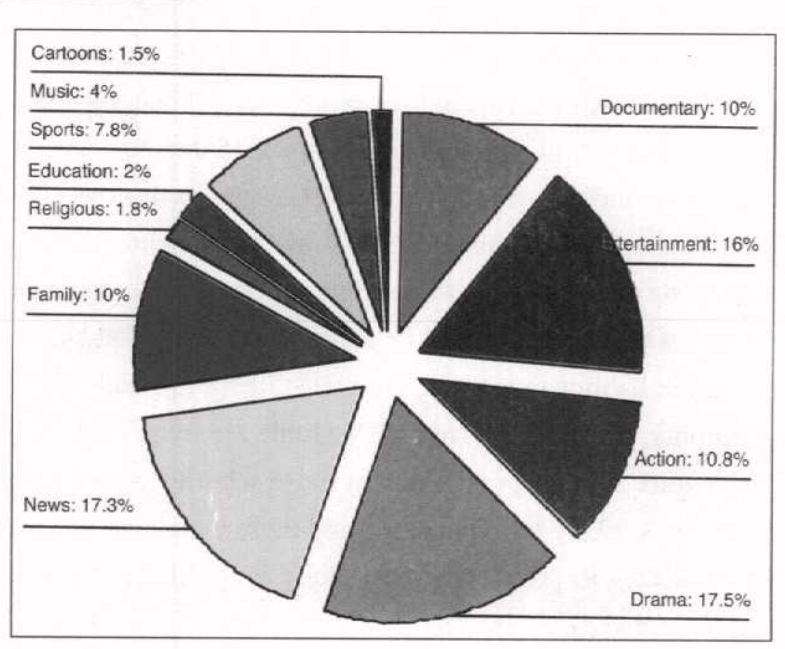


Table 1

Means for Motivations

Motivations	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree
Passing Time	396	2.04	0.98	84%
Information	395	1.95	0.89	83%
Habit	395	2.15	0.91	78%
Arousal	396	2.54	1.13	66%
Entertainment	394	2.2	0.98	65%
Relaxation	393	2.52	1.05	64%
Escape	397	2.84	1.21	49%
Companionship	395	3.21	1.16	35%
Social Interaction	395	3.22	1.18	33%

Viewing Behaviors

There was no relationship between where Kuwaiti viewers live, their educational level, income level or gender and the number of hours they spend watching television. On the other hand, there are age differences in viewing behaviors. All the Kuwaiti viewers spend 2-3 hours a day watching television. Kuwaiti viewers who are between 15 and 20 years old, and the those with no income, watch television 4-5 hours a day (see Table 2). As for how the Kuwaiti viewers learn what will be showing on television, most of those surveyed agreed that they learn by surfing the channels. Kuwaiti viewers who learn what will be showing on television by newspapers or program listings in television are most likely to watch drama type of programming; those who learn by TV Guide are most likely to watch action/ adventure type of programming; those who learn by surfing the channels are most likely to watch news, and those who learn what will be showing by talking to people are most likely to watch family-type programming (see table 3).

Table 2

Number of Hours Spent Watching Television by Age Groups

	15-20	21-25	25-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	45-50	Older than 50
Less than 1 hour	6%	3%	18%	13%	15%	31%	0%	29%
1-2 hours	17%	20%	21%	33%	42%	38%	42%	31%
2-3 hours	19%	25%	28%	27%	21%	23%	33%	36%
3-4 hours	19%	19%	14%	18%	12%	0%	25%	0%
4-5 hours	21%	19%	11%	4%	6%	8%	0%	7%
More than 5	19%	14%	7%	5%	3%	0%	0%	7%

Table 3

Type of Program by Learning What Will Be Showing

Type of Program	Program listings in Newspapers	TV Guide	Program listings on television	Surfing the Channels	Talking to People
Documentary	11%	0%	6%	12%	0%
Entertainment	15%	29%	15%	16%	13%
Action/Adventure	15%	36%	13%	9%	8%
Drama	17%	0%	20%	18%	21%
News	15%	7%	19%	19%	13%
Family	4%	14%	7%	10%	25%
Reloigious	4%	0%	4%	1%	0%
Education	0%	0%	2%	3%	0%
Sports	13%	7%	7%	6%	17%
Music	2%	0%	6%	4%	4%
Cartoons	2%	7%	2%	1%	0%
Other	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Very few Kuwaiti viewers always schedule their times based on what will be showing on television. Kuwaiti female viewers are found to schedule their times based on what will be showing on television more than the Kuwaiti male viewers (see table 4). Also those Kuwaiti viewers who are single, between 15-20 years old, with no income, or who live in Al-Assemah governate base their schedules on what will be showing on television more than do other Kuwaiti viewers.

Table 4

Gender Differences in Scheduling Time Based on What Will Be Showing on Television

	Male	N	Female	n	Totals	N
Always	3.0%	(6)	6.7%	(13)	4.8%	(19)
Sometimes	31.3%	(63)	37.6%	(73)	34.4%	(136)
Never	65.7%	(132)	55.7%	(108)	60.8%	(240)
Totals	100%	(201)	100%	(194)	100%	(395)

$X^2 = 5.59$, df = 2, p 0.061

Female Kuwaiti viewers change the channels after the shows they were watching end, more often than the Kuwaiti male viewers do. Also, viewers between 15-25 years-old who are single, who live in Al-Assemah or Hawali or Al-Farwaneyah governates, with high school degrees or less, or with in income less than 400 Kuwaiti dinar change the channels after the shows they were watching ends-more than other viewers. Kuwaiti viewers sometimes change the channels when there are commercials.

Kuwaiti viewers watch drama and news type of programming except those Kuwaiti viewers who live in Al-Jahra governate; they watch mostly family type of programming (see table 5). Kuwaiti viewers who are between 15-25 years old prefer to watch entertainment programming; those

who are between 21-30 years old prefer to watch drama programs; and those Kuwaiti viewers who are more than 30 years old prefer to watch news. Kuwaiti female viewers who are not married, or those who have high school diplomas or are enrolling in the university with income less than 700 Kuwaiti dinars prefer to watch drama. News is the most-viewed programming by male Kuwaiti viewers, those who are married, those whose educational level is less than high school, and those who have college diplomas or graduate degrees. Kuwaiti viewers with income less than 400 Kuwaiti dinars, mostly watch family-oriented programs.

Table 5

Program Type Preferences by Governates

	Al-Assemah	Hawali	Al-Farwaneyah	Al-Ahmadi	Al-Jahra
Documentary	9%	7%	14%	13%	7%
Entertainment	18%	16%	18%	15%	13%
Action/Adventure	7%	16%	16%	7%	2%
Drama	24%	14%	14%	20%	18%
News	14%	20%	20%	17%	13%
Family	11%	9%	7%	9%	20%
Reloigious	2%	2%	0%	1%	4%
Educational	0%	4%	4%	0%	0%
Sports	7%	7%	3%	13%	9%
Musical	4%	3%	3%	5%	9%
Cartoons	2%	0%	3%	0%	4%
Other	2%	2%	0%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Sixty-six percent of the Kuwaiti viewers never contact Kuwaiti newspapers and another 7- percent never contaced Kuwait television to

give their feedback about the television programming. The female Kuwaiti viewers are found to contact Kuwaiti newspapers or television more than the male viewers (see table 6).

Table 6

Feedback to Newspapers and Television by Gender

	Male	**Female**
Feedback to Newspapers		
Always	11%	14%
Sometimes	22%	20%
Never	67%	66%
Feedback to Television		
Always	4%	6%
Sometimes	22%	26%
Never	74%	68%

The study reveals most of the Kuwaitis audiences watch television to pass time and for information (see table 1). The study also shows that most of the Kuwaiti females watch television to pass times while the Kuwaiti males watch television for information and out of habit (see table 7).

Table 7

Viewing Motivations Among Males and Females

	Male	Female
Relaxation	75%	73%
Companionship	33%	52%
Habit	87%	87%
Passing Time	39%	87%
Entertainment	36%	82%
social Interaction	36%	44%
Information	95%	87%
Arousal	76%	65%
Escape	55%	61%

Conclusion

Kuwaiti viewers turn their TV sets on out of habit without much advance thought about what they will watch. After the set is on, they simply choose the least objectionable program from available offerings by surfing the channels to gratify their informational needs and to pass their time. In effect, the Kuwaiti viewers' behavior is a two-stage process in which a decision to use the media precedes the selection of specific content. The tendency of Kuwaitis to turn on a set without regard to programming is often taken as evidence of a passive audience. The conceptual alternative, a thoroughly active audience, seems unrealistic. Such an audience would turn on a set whenever favorite programs were aired, and turn off a set when they were not or when they did not, find their favorite programs by surfing the channels.

It is very difficult to define the Kuwaiti viewers' use in way of instrument-ritualistic use. The Kuwaiti viewers are mixed between active and passive viewers. Because most of the Kuwaiti viewers start using television habitually, once the TV sets are on, they will actively seek the channels by surfing the channels until they reach the program that will gratify their needs. Usually, these programs will be informational programming or drama. They are also passive because they don't schedule their times based on what will be showing on television, and perhaps that might be because they don't know what will be showing on television or because watching television is not important to them. However, the findings indicate that watching television is important to them, in that they spend their free time using it.

The evidence in this study supports the following conclusions about what influences choice of content.

* **General social and cultural circumstances,** especially aspects of life, such as age, gender, educational level and marital status. Family-related and cultural background factors also might influence the choice.

* **Availability** for reception, in terms of places and time. Obviously patterns of work, sleep and other time uses have a strong impact on audience recruitment.

* **Programming** of contents. It is important to know when audiences are available.

* **Habit** of media use and affinity for particular media (channels). Individuals seem to have consistent habits and preferences for media which lead them to be more or less selective and active in the amount and kind of media they use.

* General **content preferences, tastes and interests** in relation to media. In general, most people also seem to quickly form particular patterns of likes and dislikes for broad kinds of content (for instance, as between television sports and, news, comedy and soap operas).

* Awareness of alternatives. Actual choice will be governed by the pattern of personal tastes and interests, but only in so far as the viewer is informed about alternative possibilities at the time of availability.

* Context of viewing. The opertion of personal, choice will usually depend on whether a person is watching alone or with others, has control of the decision or not, and is watching motivated way or not. In family viewing situations, actual choices are often compromises which do not reflect individual preference. They are often the result of inertia, simply inheriting a program from a channel which is already on. Whenever Kuwait television becomes aware of these factors, then they will be able to catch and hold the audiences attention and perhaps gratify their needs.

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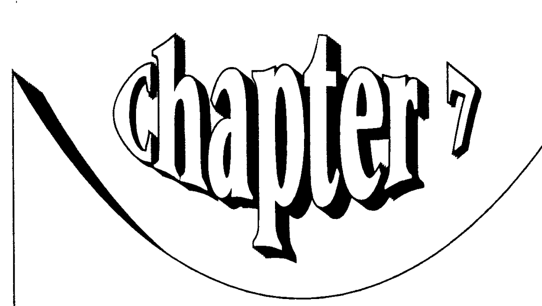
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The Role of Satellite Television Channels in the Lives of Kuwaiti Youth: An Applied Research Study on a Group Of Kuwait University Students

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Kuwaiti youth represents the country's hopes for present and basis for its plans for the future. Since the early nineties Kuwaities were able to view a great number of Arabian Gulf states, other Arab States, and international satellite television stations. Nine channels represent the Arabian Gulf television stations. The United Arab Emirates broadcast three satellite channels from Abu Dhabi, Dubai and Sharja while Saudi Arabia broadcasts two and each of Oman, Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait have one satellite station. Saudi Arabia started broadcasting the first Arabian Gulf satellite station in 1990 with over 100 weekly hours via the Arabian satellite "ARABSAT"(1).

In addition, there are twenty Arabic satellite stations which started with the Egyptian satellite channels "ESC" in December 1990(2). ESC covers the Middle East Area with Egyptian programs, and became the first overseas Arabic channel received by Kuwaiti viewers since the liberation(3). Following ESC was the Middle East Broadcasting channel "MBC" which started in September 1991 with its main studio based in London and its target to cover the middle East area via "ARABSAT" and "UTEL SAT"(4). Additional Arabic channels include Syria TV, Lebanon's "FUTURE" and "LBC" , "Jordan TV", "Sudan TV", "Yaman TV", "Tunisia TV", "Morocco TV", "Israel TV" and others. Moreover, other pay channels such as "ART" and "ORBIT" are also available with monthly subscriptions.

International television stations also became available for Kuwaiti and Arab viewers in the nineties such as STAR TV which includes STAR Plus, MTV, and SPOT TV. Additional international channels such as CNN, B. B. C., C-Span, CFI, ZTV, PTV, China TV, Cartoon Network, Super Movies and Discovery can also be received 24 hours a day by Kuwaitis during the ninteties.

Television sets ownership in Kuwait is the highest among its neighboring gulf states with 2 6 persons per set according to 1994 world almanac and book of facts. There is also high ownership of home satellite dish receivers in the country for its low prices to most citizens, and the need to follow the newscasts from different sources due to the political atmosphere in the region. Thus, the number of television channels receivable by Kuwaiti youth became much greater than the past decade due to continuous development in direct broadcast technology (5).

A varied number of dishes are used in Kuwait by viewers of satellite channels which also come in different sizes such as 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16 and 20 foot, manufactured in different countries such as the United States, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. The dishes are then used to receive channels from "ARABSAT" which include approximately 26 channels divided between the C and S Band, in addition to "INTELSAT" and "GORIZONT" which broadcast a variety of international television stations (6).

The Role of Gulf Television Channels:

The greater number of varied television stations available in the Arabian Gulf area motivates the need to explore the role of viewing such channels in the lives of Kuwaiti youth, especially, after the liberation of Kuwait in 1991. Since the liberation, a greater number of Arabian TV channels, satellite dishes, and interest in viewing television contributed to significant change in the daily life of Kuwaiti youth.

Specialists and researchers view the Gulf and Middle East increasing media variety as a postive and a healthy sign making available to viewers information about different cultures, points of views, newscasts, experiences, knowledge and entertainment (7).

Study Purpose and Method:

This study attempts to explore Kuwaiti youth attitudes toward viewing satellite television channels. The State of Kuwait is a small country in size, and is located to the northwest of the Arabian Gulf. It shares borders with Iraq to the north and the northwest, Saudi Arabia to the south and southwest, and the Arabian Gulf to the east. Kuwait's size is approximately 18000 square KM and its population is approximately two millions according to 1995 census.

The current study attempts to collect data related to the following questions which may assist our understanding of Kuwait University students attitudes toward viewing satellite television stations:-

1- What are the satellite television stations which Kuwaiti youth are viewing?
2- How much do they view?
3- What are their reasons for viewing?
4- What are the mostly preferred programs they view?
5- How do they rank the stations in terms of the viewers sources for news?

This study is based on a survey method using a stratified systematic random sample of 200 Kuwait University students among which 90% are Kuwaiti nationals, with the sample divided equally between male and female students. The sample also represents students of different stages and majors, in addition to including 10% of non Kuwaiti students. The sample represents a population of 17, 490 Kuwait University students according to 1996/1997 academic year who are enrolled in Colleges of Arts, Science, Education, Engineering, Law, Medical Assistance, Medicine, and Business Administration*.

* Kuwait University President Report, 1996/1997.

Research Tools:

The study questionnaire contains 19 questions aiming at investigating the following:-

1- The satellite television channels which Kuwait University students view (Male and Female).

2- Amount of students viewing of satellite channels.

3- Reasons and motives for viewing.

4- The most preferred television programs by university students.

5- The students sources for news.

6- General data about the sample.

The questionnaire used in this study was proof-read by scholars in psychology and mass communication at Kuwait University, and was pretested on a limited sample of 30 students as an additional measure of credibility. The questionnaire was then adiministered and collected during the summer term of 1996/1997.

Study Results and Indications:

I: The study results indicate that all sample members view satellite television (100%) with (80%) viewing regularly while (20%) of the sample viewing irregularly. Moreover, (90%) of the sample reported owning at least one satellite dish at home.

II: With regard to the Arab Gulf satellite stations (35%) of the sample reported viewing them while (50%) reported viewing the Kuwaiti satellite station which operates 24 hours a day Al Jazera (35%), Dubai (30%), Abu Dabi (25%), Al Sharja (20%), Saudi TV (15%) and Oman (10%).

III: The study results show that the sample members viewed mostly the other Arab states channels as (90%) reported viewing them. Among

which the two Lebanon stations "Future" and "LBC" were in first place (80% and 90%), followed by MBC (65%), ART (50%), ORBIT (25%), and ESC (20%).

IV: Following the Arab stations in terms of viewing was the interational satellite channels received in the Middle East. The university students reported heavy viewing (62%) of international stations with MTV and super movies in first place (61%).

Respondents also reported heavy viewing to the English news programming of the CNN (58%). This may be due to the fact that CNN international has become the most advanced news gathering operation in the world and the only channel to turn to for live Breaking News. A sophisticated satellite network spans the globe, bringing viewers instant coverage of major events as they happen. CNN international was launched in 1985 following the successful debut of CNN in 1980 in the U. S. A.. In the Aftermath of the Gulf war, CNN international is acclaimed for its concise, impartial and comprehensive coverage of the conflict. CNN reporters are asked to gather news despite of the danger. For example, Peter Arnette remained in Baghdad throughout the Gulf war in 1991, while Charles Jaco reported on missile attack from the front line in Saudi Arabia. Now 28 satellite linked news bureaux around the world are staffed by CNN journalists.

The French channel followed CNN in terms of viewing with (20%), then the B. B. C., Discovery, C-Span, Zee TV, and Israel TV

V: With regard to reasons why they view (90%) of the sample indicated that they viewed the television channels for entertainment, (85%) for killing time, and (75%) for learning about other languages and cultures.

Moreover, about (70%) of the sample indicated viewing for following international news. Previous research indicated that television is considered the main source for credible news as it represents events with picture, sound, motion and color. In addition to people's tendency to believe what they see in their own eyes(8).

The study also shows that male students viewed satellite television for news (40%) greater than female students (30%) which may indicate that the males have greater interest in news and public affairs as previous research has shown(9). Moreover, interest in viewing television news has continuously increased due to the political atmosphere in the Gulf area. A previous study shows that (73%) of Kuwaiti community viewed satellite television including (29.1%) viewing regularly and (44.3%) irregularly. The study also shows greater viewing to news programming by males (41.7%) than females (31.8 %), and the average amount of viewing increases with viewers' age and level of education(10). Another study shows that all respondents follow satellite television channels for news(11), and that (30%) do so in order to improve their foreign language skills. Thus, television can play a significant role as a major educational tool(12).

VI: With regard to respondents time for viewing, the study results show that weekends (Thursdays and Fridays in Muslim countries) and holidays are the most used days for viewing. Viewing satellite television is the highest on Thursdays (85%), followed by Fridays (80%), Wednesdays (75%), Sundays (40%), Saturdays (20%), Mondays (15%), and the least used day for viewing was Tuesdays with (10%).

VII: In terms of best time to watch (75%) of respondents indicated that their viewing habits depended upon their daily circumstances, while

(25%) viewed satellite television late at night, (20%) after the evening Islamic prayer (after 7 or 8 p. m.), (15%) after the sundown Islamic prayer (after 5 or 6 p. m.), and (10%) viewed during the afternoons, and (5%) in the morning period.

VIII: With regard to amount of time for viewing (40%) of respondents indicated that they view television for two full hours, (25%) for 4 daily hours, (15%) for 5 hours, and one respondent (0.5%) indicated viewing for more than 5 daily hours.

IX: The study shows that musical programs were the most preferred programs by Kuwaiti youth (95%), followed by Arabic movies (85%), foreign movies (75%), drama and sports with (50%) each, variety and talk shows (35%), newscasts (30%), Prize shows and advertising (20%) each, and other programs such as tourism and scientific shows (0.5%).

X: Finally, a little less than half of respondents (45%) indicated having an interest in following certain programs on satellite television as musical variety shows, "Good Afternoon", "You Will Lose If You Don't Play", "Evening Taxi", "Hopes and Songs", "Cinema 97", "Cocktail", in addition to non Arabic programs such as "World News", "World Report", "News Update", "CNN International Report", and "B. B. C. World".

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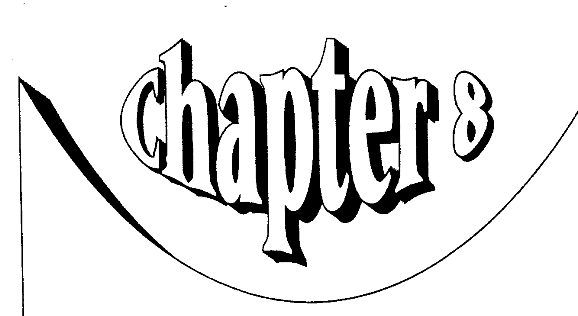
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Drama Production Obstacles on Kuwait Television: A Field Study

Prepared by: Dr. Mohammad Moawad, Ph.D.
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Kuwait Television is considered the first to broadcast regularly scheduled programming in the Arabian Gulf area, Kuwait City witnessed the first broadcast operation in the late fifties which included full length movies and cartoons. However, the truly organized programming did not start on Kuwait Television until mid-November of 1961, when Kuwait Television started broadcasting 24 hours each week(1).

Kuwait Television Standing in the Gulf Area:

Kuwait Television occupies good Standing as an information, entertainment, and educational tool compared to other mass medium sources in Kuwait and in the Gulf area. Since it started broadcasting, 38 years ago, humidity in the summer months allow, Kuwait Television signals to be received clearly in the whole Gulf area(2). The local population of Kuwait reached one million eight hundred and nine thousand according to 1997 census. The population of Kuwait consists of 699,000 females and 1, 1019,000 male out of which only 742,163 are Kuwaiti nationals and 1, 067, 106 are non Kuwaitis(3). Among the non Kuwaitis, the viewing percentage of Kuwait Television reached between 90% to 91% while among the kuwaitis the percentage reached lately between 94% to 97.5% according to recent studies.

Development of Kuwait Television Production Programming:

Producing programs is a major concern for television stations, in general, and in Kuwait Television, in particular. Kuwait Television attempts to entertain and educate its viewers which belong to 140 different nationalities.

Survey numbers show that the percentage of Kuwaiti Television programming is increasing steadily and it is considered the highest among the Gulf stated. Moreover, UNESCO reports show that the percentage of na-

tionally produced programs occupy 64.5% of broadcast time while imported programs occupy only 35.5%. Thus, it is the highest among the Gulf states considering that locally produced programs on Abu Dhabi Television is only 42%, Dubai 38%, Saudi TV 59.6%, Oman 15% and Qatar 30%(4).

Weekly broadcast time on Kuwait Television is also growing steadily from 24 hours in 1961, to 42 hours in 1964, 52 hours in 1966, 54 hours in 1969, 58 hours in 1975, and 72 hours in 1982. Thus, the increase in broadcast time reached 350% of the total time used in 1961 when Kuwait Television first started broadcasting. Moreover, a considerable increase occurred after the liberation of Kuwait in the nineties when the main channel started broadcasting 16 hours daily from 8 a.m. until 12 p.m.. A second channel was added to Kuwait Television in 1978 and its programming also increased to reach 9 hours daily. A third channel was also introduced in November 1991 for sporting programming which became the first specialized programming channel in the Gulf area. Moreover, a fourth entertainment channel was also introduced in November 1993 which started programming daily from 12 p.m. to 8 a.m., but recently changed its broadcast time from noon until 8 a.m.. Kuwait Television also started broadcasting on a satellite television channel on November 1993 via ARABSAT which reaches all Arab viewers 24 hours a day(5).

Kuwait Television Programming:-

The following table (table ≠ 1) shows the development of programming percentage of Kuwait Television in the seventies (1975), eighties (1982) and nineties (1995) as follows(6):-

Program Type	1975	1982	1995
News	09.5 %	10.0 %	15.7 %
Cultural Programming	03.6 %	10.0 %	13.3 %
Religion	07.0 %	19.0 %	08.4 %
Drama	42.8 %	32.8 %	28.3 %
Entertainment and Variety	17.7 %	20.0 %	18.9 %
Special Programming	06.2 %	15.0 %	13.4 %
Commercials	04.2 %	---	02.0 %
Sports	09.0 %	08.0 %	---

Table (1): Percentage of Television Programming.

Drama Production on Kuwait Television:

Drama programming as shown on Table (1) represents a large percentage of Kuwait TV broadcasting time which reached 42.8% in 1975, 32.8% in 1982, 29.1% in 1992, 28.3% in 1995. Field studies also show that drama shows are the favorite programs to watch on Kuwait Television which reached 90% of viewing interests. The number of hours occupied by drama shows on Kuwait Television in recent years (1992-1995) are as the following(7):

Channel	Hours in 1992	Hours in 1995
Main Channel	1368.00	01270.80
Second Channel	1165.29	01158.00
Fourth Channel	---	12920.28

Table ≠ 2: Hours of Drama Production in the Nineties.

Despite the increase in drama production hours in Kuwait Television relying on national, Gulf Arabic, and foreign production, a shortage still exists in Kuwait Television drama production, especially, after Kuwait was liberated from Iraqi Invasion in February 1991. Moreover, Kuwait Television started relying on private production companies for drama production replacing its huge interest in the seventies and eighties in producing its own programming. Recent reports on television drama also show the shortages of production broadcasted locally(8).

The First Kuwaiti Drama Show:-

Kuwait Television produced its first drama show entitled "La Fat AlFoat Ma Yanfa AiSoot". Its full length was 35 minutes written by AbdulRahman Althowahi with its major roles played by Abdulhussain AbdulReza, Saad AlFarag, Esa AlGanem and Hussain AlSaleh and directed by Mohammad Abas. Other written production followed by Ganem Alsaleh, Abdulhussain AbdulReza, Saad AlFarag, AbdulRahman Alsaleh. Among the most important works was "Al aalb AlKabeer" prepared by Mostafa Bagdadi and acted by Khalid Alnafase, Abdulhussain AbdulReza, Jawher Salem, Maraem AbdulRazaak, and Aisha Ibrahim. Many drama shows followed such as "Ali Ma Yo Taa Yotheea: in 1963 "Nehayat Thalem", especially after serveral Arab drama directors arrived in Kuwait such as Hamdi Fareed, Adel Sadeq and Nazar Sharabi. Arabic local drama production occupied a major role since 1964 with shows like "Lailat Ors", "Hadeth That Laylah", "Asbab Alnazool", "Mowta Bela Quboor", "Madenat AlNoor", "Jafat AlKoaws", and "AlHadbaa".

The first drama shows were a great variety in content and shape representing social, tragedy, comedy and historic trends drawn from worldwide and Arab literature, using local Kuwaiti slang or standard Arabic.

Statistics show that the amount of drama production in the early days

of Kuwait Television was huge compared to the available resources and shortages of used studios. Among the most popular production during the sixties were the following:

1. "Madenat AlNoor" 15 episodes.
2. "Nawader Bo Olaiwe" 16 episodes.
3. "Ailat Bo Jasoom" 6 episodes.
4. "AlHareb" 7 episodes.
5. Eight short episodes of half hour length each.
6. Ten late night drama shows.
7. "Resalah" 13 episodes.

Kuwait drama continued to grow with national directors such as Kalid Alsadeek, Badr Almothaf, Mohamad Alsanoosi, AbdulWahab Sultan, Hashem Mohammed, Abdulla Almohailan and photographer Tawfeek Alameer.

Recognized Drama Production Prior to Kuwait Liberation:

A great number of successful locally produced drama serials were shown in Kuwait Television during the seventies and eighties prior to Kuwait's invasion by Iraq in 1990 and liberation in 1991. Kuwait Television statistics show that 138 hours of its programs were sold to United Arab Emirates TV, 64 hours were sold to Qatar TV, 11 hours were sold to Saudi TV, and 8:30 hours were sold to Yaman (8).

Among the most successful locally produced serials was "Dalaq Sohael", A social comedy of 15 episodes of one hour length each, "AlQasas" a social historic 30 episodes of one hour length each, "Bo Habash" a social comedy of 7 episodes of one hour length, "Safinat Alahlam" a historic serial of 30 half hour length each, "Ahlam Neran" a social comedy of 15 episodes, "AlAqdar", "Alhath Wa Almalayeen", AlAbreek Almaksoor", "AlFakh", "Bakaya Wajooh", "AlEnhedar", "Korooj an Almaloof", in ad-

dition to "Lam Takon Omneyati" which won first place as best drama show on the Third Gulf Television Festival.

Study Purpose and Method:-

This study attempts to explore reasons behind the shortages of drama production on Kuwait Television after liberation. It is a descriptive study relying on a survey method of a sample of 100 production staff of Kuwait Television. All were selected randomly to represent all production employees as the following:

Sample Members	Number
Actors (Male, Female)	10
Dialog Writer	5
Director	10
Photographer	10
Editor	5
Program Announcer	10
Production Services Employer	10
Researchers	10
Sound/ Lighting Technician	10
Program Organizer	10
Others (Producers, Administrators, studio Managers... etc)	10

Since the research at hand is interested to look upon reasons and obstacles of Kuwait Television Drama Production, the questionnaire used contained questions regarding the main concerns in addition to other related topics such as whether preparing drama production exists on Kuwait Television, and other data related to the sample units.

Steps were used in the questionnaire to enable the gathering of valid,

truthful and consistent data from the random sample. Thus, the questionnaire was first pretested on 15 individuals prior to its main distribution. This was done to ensure full and correct understanding of the questionnaire questions, limit possibilities of misunderstanding, in addition to accurate and clear use of vocabulary.

All sample units were met during the period from October 1997 until January 1998. The questionnaire data was then gathered and analyzed.

Study Results and Indications:-

I- Viewing Drama Programs on Kuwait Television:-

The sample members were first asked about whether they viewed drama programs on Kuwait Television. Results show that all sample members (100%) viewed drama.

II- Viewing Drama Programs on other Channels:-

All sample members also indicated that they view drama programs on other channels as the following:

(1) Other Gulf channels	95%
(2) Government owned Arabic channels	85%
(3) Private owned Arabic channels	80%
(4) Foreign channels	65%

III- Type of Viewed Television Drama Programs:

The great majority of respondents (98%) indicated that they viewed Arabic Drama programming as the following:

(1) Television Drama (Serials) in Arabic	95%
(2) Doped Television Drama	45%

Moreover, Thirty respondents reported viewing drama in other not Arabic languages as the following;

(1) Drama Presented in English	30%
(2) Drama Presented in Other languages such as Urdo, French and Germany	5%

IV- Style of Viewing Drama Programming on Kuwait Television:

Study results show that the majority of respondents (85% sample members) viewed regulary drama series, while only some respondents (15% sample members) indicated viewing drama programming irregularly.

V- Type of Preferred Drama Material:

In an attempt to find out type of drama material in terms of matter in the eyes of sample members, the study shows the following results:

(1) Social Situation Serials	85%
(2) Religion	75%
(3) Comedy	70%
(4) Historic	65%
(5) Tragedy	55%
(6) Action	35%

VI- Source of Preferred Drama Production:-

In terms of production source for the most preferred drama, the study showed the following results:

(1) Local Drama Production	87%
(2) Gulf Drama Production	83%
(3) Arab Drama Production	83%
(4) Cooperative Drama Production	80%
(5) Imported Drama Production	35%

VII- The Best Arabic Drama Production:-

When asked about the best three drama productions which respondents viewed, the answers showed the following results:

(1) Darb AlZalaq	Kuwaiti	85 %
(2) Lan Aeesh Fee Jelbab Abe	Egyptian	84 %
(3) Layalee Alhelmya	Egyptian	82 %
(4) Abo Albanat	Syrian	79 %
(5) Alshahad Wa Aldemoo	Egyptian	65 %
(6) Khalti Komasha	Kuwaiti	63 %
(7) Alkarar Alakeer	Cooperative	62 %
(8) Alnaas Ajnas	Kuwaiti	61 %
(9) Zarea Albashar	Kuwaiti	61 %
(10) Yawmyat Wanees	Egyptian	60 %
(11) Haroon Alrasheed	Egyptian	55 %
(12) Omar Ben Abdalazeer	Egyptian	54 %
(13) Ayla Khams Najoom	Syrian	53 %
(14) Almalkofa	Cooperative	52 %

VIII- Preplanning Drama Production on Kuwait Television:

When asked about whether preplanning of drama production on Kuwait Television does exist, the majority of respondents (65%) confirmed the existence of preplans while 20% disagreed and 15% reported not knowing whether such production preplans exist or not.

IX- Basis for Planning Drama Production on Kuwait Television:-

Respondents who confirmed the existence of planning drama production on Kuwait Television indicated that such preplanning is based upon the following criteria:

(1) Proposed budget for television drama	65 %
(2) Previous television plans	54 %
(3) Kuwait television resouces	52 %
(4) Ministry of Information guidelines	50 %
(5) Viewers interest and preferences	49 %
(6) Other matters such as:	
Nature of season program schedule (Summer, winter..)	25 %
Special occasions	20 %
Arab relations	06 %
Needed subject matters	05 %

X- Obstacles of Drama Prodution on Kuwait Television:

When asked about whether obstacles for drama production exist on Kuwait Television the great majority of respondents indicated that they do exist, only 10% believed that they do not exist and only 3% reported not knowing whether obstacles for drama production do or not exist.

The 87 respondents who confirmed the existence of obstacles for drama production identified such obstacles as the following:

(1) Shortages of good scripts suitable for television drama	80 %
(2) Shortages of qualified personnel for drama production	65 %
(3) Shortages of technical resources for drama production	64 %
(4) Shortages in the number and quality of studios suitable for drama production	60 %
(5) Lengthened routine steps required for drama production	52 %

(6) Dependency upon private production corporation and Other television channels to provide Kuwait television needs of drama production 50 %

(7) Shortages in the budget allocated for Kuwait drama production 44 %

(8) Ministry of information regulations 20 %

(9) Problems or shortages of planning 20 %

(10) Matters related to supervision or reviewing drama scripts 15 %

(11) Other problems such as distruction of Kuwait television facilities due to the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait 20 %

Study Conclusion and Suggestions:-

Considering the study results and obstacles of drama production on Kuwait Television, several suggestions could be presented in light of the available data which may assist in the development of drama production as the following:

1) Steps Should be taken to increase preplanning drama production to achieve Kuwait Television goals and objectives.
2) Television drama script writers should be paid more to attention and encouragement.
3) Administer special training sessions for television drama script writing and ways to deal with different ideas for drama production.
4) Encourage local drama production which deal with national and local society matters.
5) Provide more flexibility for drama production units on Kuwait Television to work freely.

6) Establish an academic identify for graduating Kuwaiti technicians able to improve and develop local drama.

7) Improve methods used in evaluating drama production programs.

8) Put in hand a future plan for drama production on Kuwait Television.

9) Limit supervision control over drama works by giving production staff more self supervision responsibilities.

10) Document drama production works on Kuwait television.

11) Invest all television production capacity in satisfying Kuwait viewer's needs.

12) Increase interest in audience research which attempt to examine Kuwait Television viewers opinions and suggestions regarding its drama production.

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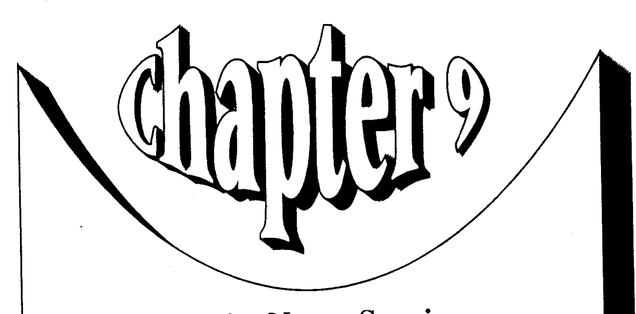
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Audio News Service Via Telephone

A service by Kuwait's News Agency (KUNA)

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Purpose and Objective:

This study investigates the current situation of Kuwait's News Agency (KUNA) personal audio News Service via Telephone two years after its inception in December 1994. The study aims to investigate how residents of Kuwait City, both Kuwaitis as well as expatriates, view a free 24 hours news service which provides a mixture of local, Arab and International events. The audio service broadcasts an average of 145 news items during normal times, and 170 news items during peak times such as when a crisis occurs and on special occasions[1]. The service receives more than 37,000 phone calls each day through its 52 available phone lines[2].

Method and Type of Study

This current descriptive research study uses a random sample of 200 residents of Kuwait City aged 15 years and over. This sample represents a population of 192,800 residents of Kuwait City equalling 12 per cent of the total population of Kuwait according to the 1995 census[3]. All the sample interviews took place during November and December of 1995, in different areas of the capital, with both men and women, Kuwaitis and expatriates. The questionnaire used in this study was proof-read by scholars in psychology and mass communication at Kuwait University and contains 17 research questions regarding the capital's resident's views of the service. The questionnaire aims to collect data related to the following questions:

- To what degree were respondents interested in following news?
- What sources did respondents depend upon to fulfil their need for news?
- Is the audio news service among respondent's significant sources of news?

- How well is the audio news service known?
- What is the size and type of its users?
- How often do the service users call on a daily basis?
- During what part of the day do users usually call?
- Why do respondents follow the audio news service?
- To what extent did the service fulfil respondent's interests?
- What are respondent's opinions and suggestions to improve the service?

A second aim of this study is to content analyze the audio news service itself. Thus, newscasts were tape recorded at various times of the day during four continuous weeks starting from Sunday October 8 to Saturday November 4, 1995. A guide was then designed to analyze. The service contains using each indivival news item as the basis for analysis. Time (second, minute) was also used to investigate differences among news items in terms of geographical location (local, international), subject, source, nature (expected, unexpected), persons involved, repetitiveness, type of language used (slang, standard)[4].

Research Results and Indications

The Current Situation of KUNA'S News Service

The service starts at 7 a.m. Kuwait's local time, and provides a summary of local, Gulf, Arabian, Islamic and International news. Like cable radio, users dial three numbers (120) over their telephones to receive a free news broadcast. The news service is changed or renewed approximately every three hours or less during peak hours, crisis, and special occasions. The news service average length is two minutes and 34 seconds, and the average number of news items presented is seven and the average time allowed for each news item 22 seconds. The service starts with a special tune and words of welcome to callers which last for not more than 8 seconds. The following is a description of news presented via the personal news service.

Opening News Items:

What is the type of a news item which is usually presented first in the personal news service? Is it local, international or the most important without regard to its geographical location? In examining the content of the first news item of the selected newscasts, it was clearly evident that local news items led most of the newscasts (10 periods) equalling 71.4 per cent, and international news items led fewer of the newscasts (4 periods) equalling 28.6 per cent.

Location of News Events presented:

The number of local News events presented during the examined period reached 30 equalling 29.4 per cent. Moerover, 10 news items came from the Gulf area equalling 9.8 per cent, 26 news items reached 41 equalling 40.2 per cent.

Content of Covered News:

Political news came first in size reaching 51.9 per cent (53 news items) of the personal service content. Military related events came second with 19.6 per cent (20 news items), followed by economic news 8.8 per cent (9 news items), culture 6.9 per cent (7 news items), social 4.9 per cent (5 News items), parliament related news 3.9 per cent (4 news items), and sports 2 per cent (2 news items). Scientific 1 per cent, crime 1 per cent and automobile accidents 1 per cent had one news item for each.

Nature of Events Presented (Sudden vs Expected):

Sudden or unexpected news items represent a great significance to the newscast, and they are often described as 'Hot News' which raises their value in attracting the audience. Such news items totalled 31 equalling 30.4 per cent while expected news items were 71 equalling 69.6 per cent.

Persons Involved in the News

During the investigated period, a number of main characters were covered by the personal news service as the following:

	News items covered	Percent age %
1 . The Amir (Head of State of Kuwait)	5	4.9%
2 . Kings and Presidents of other states	18	17.6%
3 . Kuwait's Crown Prince and Prime Minister	6	5.9%
4 . Deputies of Presidents and Kings	6	5.9%
5 . Head of Kuwait's National Assembly	2	1.9%
6 . Kuwaiti Ministries	7	6.9%
7 . Prime Ministers of other countries	8	7.8%
8 . Ministers of other countries	12	11.8%
9 . Kuwaities with high ranking positions	8	7.8%
10. Non-Kuwaitis with high ranking positions	3	2.9%
11. Kuwaities not holding high ranking positions	2	1.9%
12. Nominal figures in Kuwait (Ex. National Guards)	7	6.9%
13. International nominal figures (Ex. United Nations)	18	17.6%

Type of News Included (Pure vs Oriented and Hard vs Soft)

The number of pure (straight) news items reached 101 (99 per cent) while only one oriented (commentary) news item appeared during the studied period (1 per cent). In addition, the service included 98 news items (96.8 per cent) of hard (serious) news while only 4 news items (3.9 per cent) could be considered as soft news. Moreover, non of the news items included attempted to explain or analyze events covered.

Sources of the personal News Service

The personal news service depended upon several news sources, as follows:

	News items	Percentage %
1. International News Agencies	23	22.55%
2. KUNA'S reporters and correspondents	18	17.65%
3. Other Media (Radio, Television and newspapers)	14	13.73%
4. Unverified sources	47	46.07%

Results indicate that the study shows a great number of unverified news sources (46.07 per cent) which may have a tremendous impact on the credibility of the audio news service.

Projected Influence of the Presented News (Positive vs Negative)

The audio service news items were also categorized according to their possible influence on listeners. For example, news about heavy artillery and fighting is projected to have a negative impact while news relating to completing or starting new public services is projected to have a positive effect. Results show that 63 news items (61.8 per cent) were positive news while 31 news items (30.4 per cent) were negative news. In addition, eight news items (7.8 per cent) were unclear and therefore difficult to classify.

Repetition

Repetition of News could also have a negative impact on listeners as they may feel bored or lose interest in the newscast. However, repeated news items during the analyzed period did not exceed three (2.9 per cent), with slight differences in the way in which they were presented each time.

Gender of Voices Presenting the Newscast

News announcers play a vital role in attracting the audience to the audio news service. With regard to gender, the service utilized female announcers (9 times equalling 64.3 per cent) more than male announcers (5 times equalling 35.7 per cent) during the selected studied period.

Residents of Kuwait City and The Personal News Service

In addition to describing the current situation of KUNA's news service, the following gives an explanation of how residents of Kuwait City view the audio news service.

What sources do residents of Kuwait City depend upon for news?

Results indicate that respondents depended upon several sources for news.

1. Local newspapers were the most selected source (89.5 per cent).
2. Kuwait Television (80.5 per cent).
3. Other Arab satellite television stations (70 per cent).
4. International television stations (52 per cent) such as CNN, CFI, and BBC.
5. Kuwait's local radio (45 per cent).
6. The audio news service (44.5 per cent).
7. The Arabian Gulf television station (27.5 per cent).
8. International radio stations (20.5 per cent).
9. Other Arab state's newspapers (19.5 per cent).
10. International newspapers (13 per cent).
11. Gulf radio stations (7 per cent)
12. Gulf newspapers (5 per cent).
13. Personal communication with relatives and friends (1.5 per cent).

14. International news agencies (1 per cent).

15. 'Internet' (5 per cent).

Do residents of Kuwait City know about the personal news service?

Over half of the study sample (55 per cent) indicated that they knew about the service and a little less than half (45 per cent) of the respondents reported not Knowing that KUNA's audio news service existed. In addition, most of those who knew about the service (80.0 per cent) indicated that they dial the phone to listen to its newscats. Among the service listeners 12.7 per cent listen to it regularly and 68.2 per cent call the service sometimes. Moreover, about 19 per cent of those who knew about the service do not call or listen to the service newscast. When asked why 85.7 per cent indicated that they are satisfied with reading local newspers, 90.5 per cent reported they relied on watching television for news, and 46 per cent listended to news on radio.

What is the best time to call?

After dinner until midnight was the time most used by respondents to call the service (23.6 per cent) After sunset until dinner time was the second most reported time to call (22.4 per cent), followed by mid day (19.1 per cent), morning (15.7 per cent) and afternoon (10.1 per cent). In addition, several respondents (9.1 per cent) indicated that they call the service whenever they chose to do so without regard to a specific time.

Why do listemers listen to the service?

When asked about the reasons which motivated them to call the audio news service, most respondents (80.9 per cent) reported needing to know 'international news and (79.8 per cent) 'local news'. Moreover, about 67.4 per cent dialled the service for news of other arab nations, 60.7 per cent for news of the gulf area, and 33.7 per cent for news in general.

Although previous research indicates audiences' preference for local

news, one interesting result of this study is respondents' great interest in international news. A possible explanation could be related to the circumstances surrounding the Kuwaiti people after liberation, Relations between Iraq and the International community, including Kuwait, has not been normalized yet, and Iraq remains a regional threat afer six years since a US led coalition forced the Iraqi forces out of Kuwait.

What do listeners suggest in order to improve the service?

Of the sample used, 38.2 per cent of respondents provided suggestions to improve the service. They are summarised in the following table.

1- A greater variety without extensive emphasis on political news	70.6 %
2- Increase time allowed for the newscast	52.9 %
3- Increase quantity of local news	61.8 %
4- Continue to inform citizens and expatriates about the service	79.4 %
5- Increase the service number of phone lines to match increase in users	26.5 %
6- A greater effort in explaining and analysing the presented news	79.4 %
7- Increase the percentage of Arab and Gulf Sates news	17.6 %
8- A greater effort in presenting the news order according to its significance	54.9 %
9- Authority figures announcements should be in their original voice.	29.4 %
10- Make use of KONA's correspondents reports	35.3 %
11- Add new services such as sport and economic news	44.1 %
12- Contain rumours through the audio news serivce	8.8 %
13- Developing the service in the future into a sound and picture service.	2.9%

Conclusion:

Based on the description of KUNA's audio news service and the manner in which residents of Kuwait City view it, we can make the following recommendations:

1- In order to satisfy the audiences' different needs some effort should be made to present a greater variety of news without concentration only on political news. Results from the study show that political news overwhelms the newscast.

2- The quantity of news items (7) and their length of time (2 minutes and 34 seconds) needs to be increased. This is especially significant with regard to events occurring in Kuwait in order to inform audiences of what is happening around them. The service should also make an effort to relate local news to audience's interests in different fields and matters of daily life.

3- The service should increase the quantity of news related to Kuwait's development plans and projects.

4- More use could be made of government official's original sound announcements and correspondents' reports in order to increase interest in the service, In addition the service should use standard and simplified language and a variety of voices during the news presentation.

5- Start new services to serve public interests such as economy, sports or weather conditions.

6- Encourage research regarding public opinion feed back and evaluation of the audio service to strengthen positive elements and avoid negative aspects of the service in order better to fulfil sudiences' nedds and intersts.

7- Continue to advertise in newspapers, on radio and television and in other media about the audio news service for more enlightenment among citizens as well as expatriates.

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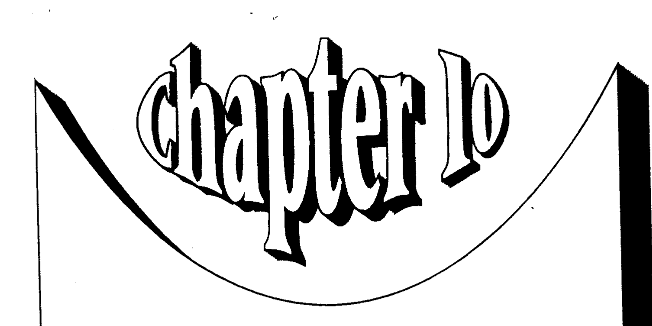
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Transnational Advertising in Kuwait: How Kuwaiti Women Read Western Advertisements in a Local Magazine

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Transnational Advertising in Kuwait: How Kuwaiti Women Read Western Advertisements in a Local Magazine

I. Introduction

Images from Western mass media are crossing borders to reach a wider and a more diverse audience around the globe. Today, it is almost impossible to walk in the streets of any major non-Western city without seeing images that can be traced to the west. And Arab countries are no exception. Traits of Western culture, not restricted to images, are noticeable in many Arab countries. It is often said that the West is conquering the Arab World in the late twentieth century not through invasions and colonization but through peaceful and more subtle means, through the mass media - what Price (1995) calls "soft power." More specifically, it is the West's popular culture - music, movies, fashion, and fast food - that is being transported to the Arab countries, or perhaps it is the side of western culture that is easier to notice and detect because of its frequency of change. Other aspects of Western culture might be harder to detect, or else they merge smoothly with the local culture and are therefore thought of as being no longer Western or less Western.

Researchers have tended to see the implications of images, which mostly accompany advertisements only for the immediate context - that is, the society in which they originate. But when advertisements are exported intact to other societies, they might have further implications, especially because advertising is culturally specific: it "borrows its ideas, its language, and its visual representations from literature and design, from other media content and forms, from history and the future, and from its own experience; then it artfully recombines them around the theme of consumption." (As reported by Leiss et al (1986) and quoted in Van Zoonen,

1994,p. 79). This raises the question of what western advertising images, specifically western- looking models, in non- Western countries achieve. Do people in other countries use these images to construct their views about Western women and society? Do such images inevitably influence the construction of these people's self- image as they compare and contrast advertising images with their own reality?

To answer these questions I conducted a study in Kuwait, a society which is increasingly opening to the West yet to a certian extent could still be labeled "conservative" relative to the West. I was concerned with the following questions:

- What type of women - Western or Arabic - are represented in advertisements in *Osratil*, a Ieading Kuwatit women's magazine?
- What is the role that ads play in the lives of upper-middle class Kuwaiti women?
- Do they gain any pleasure from reading advertisements?
- How do those women read advertisements that include Western- looking models?
- How do they read advertisements with Arab-looking models?
- What do images in Western ads tell the Kuwatit. women about the West and themselves?

(1) I chose *Osrati* magazine because it is the first women's magazine in the Gulf region. According to the Pan Arab Research Center (PARC), a marketing company in the Arab region, *Osrati* is the number one magazine in the Kuwaiti market among family and female monthlies. Therefore, other magazines may follow its steps - not necessarily in the editorial side but in advertisements. From the beginning it attempted to reach women and families with education and high income, and it provided advertising with high printing quality and lay - out. Its articles deal mostly with soft news such as tips on dieting, entertainment news, fashion, and men - women relationships, targeted at women. I would describe it as a mixture of the U.S. magazines *Working Woman and Vogue.*

From the above questions, we see that this study focuses on the relation between cultures as reflected by images. In the case of Kuwait and the West, they are very different politically, economically, and culturally. It is this difference that makes it hard to ignore the presence of Western popular culture in Kuwait. Especially that advertising images continually add to the volume of other Western images received in Kuwait via TV programs, movies, and music videos. So far, Kuwaitis see ads merely as marketing tools, underestimating or failing to understand the social power that ads can possess. The paucity of research in the area of advertising and consumer culture in the Arab world should therefore be of concern to researchers, especially as businesses in the Western World become increasingly international with plans for global advertisements and marketing. Today, Western advertisements - for example, those for cosmetics, perfumer, and fashion - are one avenue through which Western culture can communicate to the locals in Kuwait and stimulate their imaginations about "modern" and "fashionable" trends among women in the "advanced" world. As Kuwait continues to immerse itself in the "global community," in this case through consuming Western products, it is important to gain an idea about the possible implications of these Western images.

Concern about foreign images, including Western ones, in advertisements and their potential power has been evident in many countries and some have taken action against them. For example, in 1985, in a conscious effort to promote "nationalism" and "nation building" the National Parliament of Papua New Guinea passed an advertising Act that demands all commercial advertising in the country be locally produced by local designers, models, etc., and any lapse in applying this rule will be punished as a criminal rather than a civil offense (Foster, 1995). A few years later, in 1989, similar measures were taken in Malaysia, which in its efforts to build Malaysian identity, banned the use of "pan - Asian" and Caucasian

models, advocating instead the use of models that represent Malaysia's ethnic groups: Malays, Chinese, and Indians (Goldstein, 1989). The Malaysian and Papua New Guinea actions could verify Barthel's (1988) argument that advertising is not only about products but about how we look at others and how we think of ourselves.

Carrier (1995) suggests that "Westerners have been more powerful and hence better able than people elsewhere to construct and impose images of alien societies as they see fit" (p.10). Among other factors that give the West, especially the United States, such power is its media, who play a major role in the process of constructing and modifying images about Others. By the same token, the West also necessarily conveys and distributes images of itself, whether calculated or not. This privileged status of the West is enhanced by the international demand for Western mass media programs because of low cost, easy physical distribution, and the growing "world taste for things American" (Price, 1995, p.13). Embodied in the images of Western media are Western values and lifestyles; and advertising in these media sells more than just products: it sells a lifestyle and values too (Barthel, 1988; Kellner, 1990). Therefore Western media shape and reshape views about the West both within the West and internationally; at the same time they reshape the perception of people in non-Western countries about themselve Carrier (1995) adds that both Westerners and non-Westerners create "stylized" images of the West and the Orient that reflect a "web" of social, economic, and political relationships. He adds that these images have social, economic, and political uses because they "shape people's perception, justify policies, and consequently influence people's action" (p.11). It is this consumption of images, specifically the ones in advertising, that I explore in this project.

Despite the pervasiveness and popularity of Western images in non - Western countries, there are a limited number of studies that examine the

audience's reception of these images. In other words, how does the audience interpret and use this type of text? There have been, however, a number of studies, mostly in the early 1980s, that focus on the impact of Western television and radio programs on non-Western audiences and the preference of those audiences for Western or local programming, Interest in this area developed because of the overwhelming "one-way flow" of Western, programs, especially American programs, to the rest of the world and the perceived threat to "national identity." Even Western countries, such as France, have been vocal in expressing their concern about the effect of American movies and TV programs on their culture. Yet researchers have achieved little consensus. The effect of these programs is said to range from changing people's values to reinforcing traditional values (Kang and Morgan, 1988).

This concern about the effect of foreign media is especially valid when we consider that many people in non-Western countries, especially those with high education and coming from the upper classes, do have a preference for Western programs. In their quantitative study on program preference among Saudi Arabian students, Boyd and Najai (1984) found that female students preferred Western programs to locally produced ones. Golding (1977) also reported that the Nigerian audience preferred Western programs and came to demand that local producers live up to Western standards of production. Despite this concern over foreign media, and more specifically Western images, only rarely have researchers included the audience's readings of those images in their studies.

There is no doubt that audience studies such as the ones that examined Dallas contribute to our understanding of the consumption of culture by including the audience in their research - a strategy that is usually lacking in the literature of media consumption in general and advertising and consumer culture in particular. In many of the writings that deal with the

meanings of ads, the researchers use their own theoretical assumptions and interpretive skills to detect the ideologies associated with a certain image, especially when looking at gender representations (Williamson, 1978; Barthel, 1980; Nichols, 1981). But if we are dealing with culture, we should definitely be including what makes up this culture, and that is people - the audience for a certain message. In his chapter on "Analyzing social ideology in advertisements," O'Barr (1994) calls for the inclusion of the audience in the construction of meaning. He rightly points out that "the consumer is the ultimate author of the meaning of an advertisement; the intentions of the makers (are) of secondary importance" (p.8).

As he reviews Williamson in *Decoding Advertising* (1978) and Roland Marchand's *Advertising the American Dream* (1985), O'Barr is not against the researchers using their own critical and interpretive perspectives to look at ads; but, he suggests, this method should not be used exclusively. He writes that the audience's readings of the meanings of advertisements have been looked at by researchers in this field as "monolithic" (in other words, all audience members are presumed to derive the same meaning from an ad). I believe that is not really the case. But one can easily gain such an impression from reading the research in cultural studies, because although most researchers do acknowledge and in many cases spell out that the audience is active in the construction of different meanings, they are tempted to present their findings as if there was only a "one-person" meaning. In order to get rid of any idea that the audience is "monolithic," I have included the audience in the present study of how advertisements are viewed in Kuwaiti culture.

Researchers in the area of cultural studies are strongly encouraged to study the audience response to media messages (Morley, 1992; Kellner, 1995). As Fiske (1986) rightly argues, the meaning of the image comes from the cultural discourse in which the image is being interpreted. In the

case of advertisements in Kuwait we can say that this cultural discourse includes the "Kuwaiti culture," but most important it also includes readers' preexisting ideas about the West, fashion, and self-image (Lutz and Collins, 1993, discuss preexisting ideas of Americans with regard to reading images about the Third World). Thus the audience are not just receiving Western images but are actively creating their own meaning of the signs they see, in accordance with their culture and experience.

Because the focus of this study is to understand the meaning of images in ads (in this case of women), I conducted one-on-one in-depth interviews with upper-middle class Kuwaiti women to explore how they use advertisements and how they interpret meanings they find in the ads, how they identify with the women in the advertisements, and what the ads tell them about the West. I decided to interview female readers from 20 to 34,because females between the ages of 16 and 19 are still in high school and still under parental supervision, therefore they might not be as free to speak their mind as the older women. They also buy fewer of the beauty products being advertised than do women in the target age group, who work and have discretionary income.

For this study I interviewed 13 women for approximately one hour each. I used snowballing sampling to find women who would agree to be interviewed and at the same time fall in the right age group and class.

II. Background

Ever since Kuwait was freed from the Iraqi invasion in 1991, the Kuwaiti government and many of the people have become noticeably more open to the world and particularly to those countries who played a major role in the coalition force that restored Kuwaiti sovereignty. This tendency has increased the country's dependecy on all kinds of foreign products. According to Kuwait's 1995 Annual Statistical Abstract, for the period

1992-1995 imports from West European countries were the highest, those from Asia second, and those from the Americas third. Although there are no specific data indicating the types of products contributing to this dependency on imports,certain products are obviously popular, ranging from famous-franchise fast-food, to well-known packaged and canned food, cars, and fashion.

Today, Kuwait is acting as a magnet for Western culture, specifically its popular culture, which can be symbolized by the consumer products. The ability and efficiency of this magnet to attract Western products and the people's delight in what is Western have become even stronger since the Gulf War as more Western franchises such as Guess, Liz Claiborn, J C Penney, and McDonald's have come in. The attractiveness of the West goes beyond products to the English language itself. Walking down the streets of Kuwait one is surrounded by small restaurants and stores with English names, such as Weekend Restaurant, Club Sandwich Restaurant, Fast Food Restaurant, and the CNN School Supply Store, which have no meaning in Arabic. The names of states and cities exercise a particular fascination. There are Santa Fe's Glass Store, Miami Music Band, and California's Restaurant. In some cases the English word is used regardless of whether it fits the kind of store, as in the case of the Barbecue Hair Salon for Men. This fascination for Western things is worth examining.

Not only do Western consumer products and Western names play a major role, but there is also a popular tendency among Kuwaitis from the middle and upper classes to visit Western countries during their summer vacations. This habit became more strongly rooted during the invasion, when thousands of Kuwaitis found themselves in foreign lands and many of them were exposed to other lifestyles for longer than the usual two-month summer vacation.

During this period, when Kuwaitis were exposed to foreign customs

and foreign lands facing an uncertain future, their behavior and outlook on life were influenced by their experience. We find, for example, that those people who ended up in conservative countries such as Saudi Arabia adopted conservative values compared with those of Kuwait, and they brought those values back with them after Kuwait was freed. An example of that is the Saudi veil, *Neqqab*, which not only covers the woman's entire body, but also her face except for the eyes: an extreme action that was rarely seen in Kuwait before the invasion but now is appealing to an increasing number of women. On the other hand, we find that many others who lived in more places such as the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, the United Kingdom, and the United States came bach home with liberal dress and ideas. But despite such variation in external appearace, it appears that Kuwaitis tend to look at both the conservative and the liberal trends in dress as normal changes in society.

III. Overview of *Osrati's* Advertisements

Before turning to the audience, it is important to give a brief idea of what type of ads tend to be featured in *Osrati*, whether Western or Arabic, in order to see how serious an issue we are dealing with. The following section offers this overview. Because the focus of this study is on examining how Kuwaiti women read Western ads and Arabic ads, we need to see what constitutes a Western ad and what constitute an Arabic ad. In order to classify the ads as Western or Arabic, I will use the women and the context depicted in the ads as signifiers.

The signifiers I selected rely solely on the physical characteristics of the woman in the ad. A model is Western-looking if her physical characteristics match those often depicted in the Arab media as representing Western women: light skin, light hair color, colored eyes (blue, light brown, or green), and "perfect" physique. For "Arab-looking models" their characteristics should match those of the "average" women in the Persian Gulf

region, since they would be closer to looking like the Kuwaiti woman than would other Arab nationalities: black hair, black eyes, and bronze complexion.

The large number of Western ads is not surprising when we take into consideration the political-economic context in Kuwait. Almost 50% of the country's imports are from Western counties, particularly Western Europe, the United States, and Canada. This is reflected in the fact that most of the products advertised in *Osrati* were Western. Thus, it is not surprising that Western-looking models are used to promote some of these products. It is important to mention that most of the advertised products were perfumes and cosmetics - typically Western made products.

In the ads with Western-looking women, most of them featured a woman in a "neutral" pose, and less than half could be labeled as a Western pose. The same is true about the presence of Arab-looking women: the majority of them had a neutral pose. When it came to the kind of clothes, both the Western-looking and the Arab-looking models wore neutral clothes that were compatible with both cultures. Very few of the Arab-looking models wore Arabic dresses, whereas more of the Western-looking models wore clothes that could be said to be Western (e.g., sleeveless or short dresses). Thus, we can say that in general the situational context in these ads - the clothes worn and the poses used - is neutral and does not reflect one culture or the other.

Looking for the environmental context, which includes the background scenery, we find that the majority of Western-and Arab-looking models were situated in neutral scenery that does not necessarily point to a specific culture; in most cases they were a single light color. Similarly, the objects used to accompany both types of model were culturally impartial. Some of the ads with Western-looking models used Western objects or landmarks (e.g., the Eiffel Tower or skyscrapers) and similarly some of

the Arab-looking models were accompanied by an Eastern object (e.g., the Kuwaiti flag). In the majority of the ads, the woman is shown alone; in cigarettes ads and airline ads she is accompanied by a male. As in the situational context, the environmental context is neutral. This strongly suggests that the interviewees, in deciding whether an ad is Western or Arabic, will depend on the model's physical characteristics.

Futhermore, it was found that majority of the ads featuring Western-looking women depict them as models, often photogenic ones, whereas the ads with Arab-looking women show them as business women or mothers and there is little or no focus on their attractiveness. Perhaps this could be better understood if we look at the type of product being advertised. If it is an ad for make-up, which most of the Western ads were, then it will follow the usual practice in these ads of having a model figure displaying the item. In the ads that had an Arabic-looking model, on the other hand, the products were home appliances, and body creams, and the focus was always on the product rather than the woman.

To gain a better understanding of why Western ads dominate *Osrati*, we need to look at the production and distribution system for the ads. The advertising business in Kuwait is in its infancy compared with what exists in the west. Therefore, most Kuwaiti distributors of international brands use ready-made ads produced by the mother company, most probably designed for the Western world, yet here being used in *Osrati* because they are at least not offensive to readers in the Gulf region. The major advantage to the distributors is that it is cheaper to send for an ad than to deal with a local agency; also the quality of the work in the received ad is higher. The local distributors also save money because they are making few efforts to study the market seriously, as Ms. Al-Mugrabi (personal communication, June 24, 1996) points out, and in many cases they are using America and Europe as touchstones of whether an advertisement will suc-

ceed or not. he added in the interview that many distributors have the idea that "if an ad succeeds in the West, it will succeed in Kuwait." Another avenue through which Western advertisements are reaching the Kuwaiti magazine, besides via the local dealer, is directly from the mother company overseas *Osrati* employs regional and international representatives to visit the mother companies. As Ms. Al-Mugrabi points out, "international companies do not see the Kuwaiti market as an important enough market to design specific advertisements for it." But some companies are prepared to make adjustments. She adds that the advertisers do not specifically design an image to fit the Arabic market, but at the same time they try to use images that would not make them lose this market.

III. Findings

I have divided this section into three parts to assist in making sense of the data collected, and at the same time to answer the three main objectives of this paper: (1) to determine how women actually read advertisements, (2) to investigate what role Western-oriented advertisements play in shaping audience's perspective about the West, and (3) to discover through advertisements how Kuwaiti women see themselves in this global era.

A. Advertisements as a Source of Information and Pleasure

Conveying information has always been the purpose of advertising. The effectiveness of advertisements depends on the amount and kind of information contained in them (Schudson, 1986). Yet how this information is conveyed has changed noticeably over the years, from dominantly text-based to more image-based. Advertisers are always searching to find the right balance between an appropriate text and "grabbing" images to reach and persuade their target audience. So, it is not surprising to find that Kuwaiti women use ads as a convenient source of information. In fact, I found it was the overwhelming reason among the interviewees for looking

at advertisements. And as we will see that pleasure was an important accompaniment of this information. Hence the amount of information the reader receives from an advertisement is not limited to the advertised product only, but extends to the ancillaries and, in most instances, the models.

I find it useful to divide the kind of information gained from ads into"tangible information" and "value information." Tangible information is specific information the reader can extract about the product (e.g., the name of the product, how it looks, and where to buy it) and about the accompanying objects and models (e.g., how the model is dressed, the accessories in the display). It answers the question of what consumer information the reader can use. Value information requires the reader to make an interpretation: *why* is this sign used and *what* 218does it mean? In this section, I will look at tangible information; the following section will focus on value information. To understand the kind of tangible information that Kuwaiti women gain from ads, we need to look first at the role of advertisements in their lives.

Part of understanding the reception of advertisements is to learn about what the audience looks for in ads and how they use them. When asked about this issue, the women I met told me that they do look at advertisements and their first use of the advertisements, as I mentioned earlier, is as a channel of inquiry about what products are available in the market. As one woman said:

> Sometimes the ad gets my attention. I don't know why - maybe because it's for something I need. or maybe when the colors are attractive I look at the ad.... Ads tell me what is new, and I might look for that product when I go shopping. Ads are the most important way of telling me what is new (Interviewee # 6).

Another woman described her reading strategy like this:

> The woman in the ad attracts my attention. The picture gets my attention more than the written text and I usually look at the ad to see the picture and not the product. (Interviewee # 7).

According to my findings, magazine ads do play a role in shaping Kuwaiti women's consumption, and this consumption is not limited to the advertised product but also includes images. In fact, some of these ads were used by the interviewees as if they were, for example, lessons in applying make up and styling their hair. Hence, tangible information can include "other details" that can be gained from the ad besides the information related to the product advertised. Some women talked in detail about their reading strategies for the ad and the kind of tangible information they are looking for. For example,

> I love new ideas and change. Looking at the ads is a must. I have to look closely at every ad in the magazine, especially cosmetic ads. Sometimes if I don't have time to read the magazine, I go through the ads and read the magazine later.... The model in the ad attracts me to the ad. I like to see how she applies her eye make up. And I especially enjoy the "before and after" ads; they attract me the most. (Interviewee # 1)

Another interviewee had the following insights into her reading:

> I especially look at make up and cosmetic ads. And I like to look closer at the model and see how she applied her make up.... Ads tell me what is available in the market. It is unrealistic to go to every store to look for what you want. So the ads are very useful to tell me what is available. (Interviewee # 4).

The next quotation sums up what the women said about how they read ads:

> The thing that catches my eye is generally the make up - how they (models) wear their make up even if the ad is not for make up. Very often, I look at the face first, then the product, and then the written text. (Interviewee # 9)

All the women except one had a similar way of reading advertisements. The other woman expressed a contrary opinion:

> The words and the product get my attention - especially if the words are convincing. But the model doesn't tell me anything.... Because we are women. It might affect boys, or maybe it attracts teenage girls so they imitate the models. (Interviewee # 8)

Why do these women scrutinize advertisements for beauty products so carefully and take them so seriously? In the first place, for Kuwait women, magazine ads are the only source of information about new beauty products. Secondly, they gain pleasure, however fleeting, from the visually "attractive" images in the ads. There is also a certain level of pleasure involved in the women knowing that a product exists, knowing where to buy it, knowing how to apply it, and most importantly, knowing that they can afford to buy it if they want to. Creating a sense of pleasure is in fact a strategy used by advertisers to entice the reader to linger on the page, receive more information, and have increased recall of the product. One thing is clear from the order in which the women examine an ad: attraction to a beautiful image or to a well-executed design seemed to be stronger than attraction to written information.

Nevertheless, pleasure can be derived from both the image and the written text. Ang (1985) suggests that in general people rarely wonder

what it was about a certain thing that made it pleasurable to them: they simply take the pleasure for granted. Yet in the case of print advertisements, because the ads are confined to one page, or perhaps two, people are more likely to be aware of the source of their pleasure, which is most often the visual aspect of the ads - for example, an eye-catching model in a "creatively" executed set-up. As most of the Kuwaiti women said, they look at the model's appearance closely - studying a dress, a hairstyle, some make up - and plan on copying it.

The analysis of the interviews in this section shows that information and pleasure gained from reading advertisements do exert some influence on the women, ranging from simply learning "what's new?' to changing of behavior and adoption of an innovation. Exposure to ads told the women what was available, taught them how to enhance their appearance, and persuaded them to go out and buy a product. As we have seen, the women were quite open about expressing their interest in ads, using phrases such as "I like" and "the ad attracts me." The pleasure that accompanies the process of reading ads paints consumption with bright, attractive colors.

There is pleasure to be gained from looking at ads. A need is being fulfilled through learning about the tangible information - whether it is written information about the product, deduced information about how the model is doing something, or simply something of interest. Such pleasure has not yet been taken seriously by those studying women in advertisements. Researchers have not seen pleasure as part of reading ads but focused almost exclusively on critical meanings that might be read by the audience. This is ironic, for advertising is a profession based primarily on aesthetics.

B. Arabic Advertisements vis-a-vis Western Advertisements

In the previous section we looked at the nature of ad consumption by Kuwaiti women - their use of tangible information, both words and images. It provides us with the groundwork for this section in which we ex-

plore the meanings that the women might derive from the images. I will look at both Arabic and Western advertisements, and understand what "value" information - which is more interpretive and depends on familiarity with the signs and symbols used - the audience reads in these ads and what it means to them. Familiarity with the signs and symbols could be an element that enables the women to determine the origin of an ad. Therefore, it is important to see if the women are able to recognize symbols, what these symbols reveal about the origin of an ad, what the symbols tell the women about the west, and what implications there are for Arabic advertisers. I will also show the narrative of the ads is received and how Kuwaiti women perceive themselves and their society via the images in what they labeled "western" ads. I will conclude this section with the role that western advertisements might play for the women in constructing their views about the west.

Because, as we saw in the overview, the situational and environmental context tends to be neutral in most of Ostrati's advertisements, the classification of the ads into Arabic and Western came from the models' appearance. When I presented the two sets of ads to the interviewees, they readily identified some ads as Western and the others as Arabic. The interviewees pointed out several other visual characteristics that helped them distinguish between western ads and Arabic ads, they are: the model's pose; the overall composition; the layout and composition; the name of the product; the quality of the print; and the language used (English or Arabic). Here are some samples of what the interviewees had to say on the types of ad:

> The model in the ad indicates that the ad is Western.... In the Arabic ads the focus is on the product more than on the woman. The woman is on the sidelines in these in these (Arabic) ads. In the ad for Wella... the woman does not look Arabic, but the presentation of the ad is

Arabic (owing to its color or print quality). The Arabic ads are very dry - unlike the Western ads, in which Westerners know how to play with colors... If these ads reflect one thing about Arabic society is that it is behind in advertising. They do not have the creativity that the west has. (Interviewee # 6)

Another interviewee reported:

These ads are Western ads. I know some of these models and they are Western. And also the colors and the style of presentation is Western. We in the East do not use models often in our ads. (Interviewee # 5)

Another woman added:

Western models? My goodness, they are different (from Arabic models). First you notice that their body, hair, and facial features are different - everything about them is different. And notice that their makeup is very light and not like the make-up Arab models apply. That of Western models is very light - to the extent that if they said they do not have make up on, you would believe them. But definitely (the models') make-up takes hours to apply . (Interviewee # 10)

It is evident that that these kuwaiti women were knowledgeale about the signs and symbols in ads. They have a preconceived view about Arabic ads, seeing them as of lower quality and reflecting lower creativity.In a business whose hallmarks are creativity and originality, this view clearly poses a problem to advertising agencies in kuwait, who are advertising alongside foreign muitinational companies in local magazines. The Arabic ads were not looked at on their own terms but only in relationship to the Western ads, which were seen as superior. All the interviewees admitted paying little or no attention to Arabic ads because they were less attractive

and the products were considered "old." In other words, the western advertisements communicated professionalism and innovation, were seen as mediating more effectively, and often elicited an emotion. For example, some of the women were touched by the Estee Lauder and Lancome ads. The conclusion seems to be that, in order to be successful, Arab advertisers need to meet the same standards of quality as western advertisers.

In addition, when what is considered a Western trait was seen in an Arabic ad, the women did not like the ad. For example, an ad for Cream 21, which 21, which the intervewees labeled as an Arabic ad, showed an Arabic-looking woman wearing a sleeveless dress, and was seen as a pure imitation of Western images. The women found the image contrived and the message did not come through as naturally as in other ads. This reminds me of an old Kuwaiti proverb: to keep the beauty of a dress, you must patch it with the same material. As one interviewee explained, it was like "taking a western woman and making her wear the veil to sell a bar of soap.... It is artificial." (Interviewee # 2).

The interviewees' interpretations of the ad show that, in order to compete effectively with Western advertisments, Kuwait advertisers need to choose culturally specific, unmixed images, particularly when selling non-Western products (e.g., from Arabia or Far-East Asia). For example, they could increase the use of indigenous signs from the Gulf area that are fimilar to their targeted audience. Although Western ads almost always use a model-Which the Kuwait women found natural-it is not necessary for Kuwait advertiseres to include Kuwaiti looking-models in their ads, because the women do not expect it. One even said that even if the model looked Kuwaiti she would still think otherwise because "we Kuwaitis do not appear in ads." (Interviewee # 10). This points to the unique market situation in Kuwait-quite different from Burrell's notion that African-Americans need "positive realism" (wanting to see models like them-

selves). In this case, as one woman said: "we want to see beautiful things. But they [the West] want to see people that look like them. For us those [imaged in ads] are people like us." (Interviewee # 7) The Kuwaiti women had need for someone who looked like them in the ad to persuade them that the product was for them. Rather, they related to the Western women in the ads not for their Westernness but as an example showing them the latest in clothing, hairstyles, and cosmetics. Further, despite their attraction to the Western ads, most of the women I interviewed indicated that whether the model was Arabic-looking or Western-looking was not a factor in that attraction. One women said that she sees women in ads does not place them in any ethnic category. Another women added: "I think her appearance and beauty matter more." (Interviewee # 1) In general, it does not matter about the origin of the model: she must just be beautiful.

We saw above that the Kuwaiti women related to the Western model as a woman. Their responses we have just noted show that she is in fact seen as a surrogate for a Kuwaiti model, who could not be in the ad for cultural reasons. When the Kuwait woman sees the Western model she says to herself: that's what's new and it could be for me. Ironically, Arabic ads are seen as repersenting other countries, but not Kuwaiti society. Although the Kuwaiti women were aware of the models' ethnicity, they claimed that it did not play a role in their attraction to an ad. Nevertheless, they seemed to identify more with the models in the Western ads than those in the Arabic ads because the West is looked at as a setter of style and fashion. Such a preference could be better understood by looking at how the Kuwaiti women see the relationship between what they labeled as "Western" images and Kuwaiti society. As one woman put it:

> The [Kuwaiti] upper classes are on the same level when it comes to clothes and caring about their appearance [as

> Western models] and it is possible that we compare ourselves to the models... I feel that these ads reflect our society as much as Western society. (Interviewee # 13).

Along the same lines, another said:

> These ads reminds me of Kuwait, where people use these products. (Interviewee # 6).

Other women remarked:

> I think that some of these Western ads do reflect our society these days and some [e.g., the Versaci ad] do not. I mean, for example, in Chanel's ad they are wearing modern chothes and our society does as well. And the people here care about their elegance... We perhaps buy more of these perfumes than [Westerners] do. (Interviewee # 7).

> These [Western] ads reflect our society, especially these days, more than they reflect Western society. For example, the chanel ad reflects our society. Three-fourths of Kuwaiti women carry Chanel bags. Even when I see a chanel ad overseas, I remember Kuwait. (Interviewee # 4).

As the above remarks tell us, when Kuwaiti women see the images in Western ads they are constantly reminded of themselves and their own society. In other words, Kuwaiti society is part of the consumption that is occurring globally but in a minor market. Hence, it is fair to say that, based on the above interviews, Kuwaitis are part of the global consumption of those Western goods that are know internationaaly. And in some instances, being exposed to these brands when they are in Western countries even gives some women a sense of nostalgia about their homeland. But even when they are in their homeland, the impact of global consumption can be clearly seen. As one women put it, "These [young girls] are so good at im-

itating the West with a little help from make-up; they even try to have eyebrows the same thichness and shape as the models" (Interviewee # 4).

The interviewee's preception that Kuwaitis were using Western products and styles more than Westerners played a large role in why the interviewees see Western ads as reflecting their own society. Such widespread usage created a sense of familiarity about the products and the models' appearance. This in turn lessens the foreignness of the ad and makes it come across as more natural. In other words, although the respondents saw the individual elements of the advertisements-the presentation, the product, and the model-as Western, paradoxically the overall image reflects Kuwaiti society to them.

It is therefore not surprising that advertisements did not play a major role in shaping the interviewee's views about the Western woman and the West. When I asked them about what the ads told them or reflected to them about the West, the interviewees could be divided into two groups: those who do not see advertisements playing any role in forming their views about the West and those who see advertisements confirming the views they already held about the West. Both groups acknowledged that ads tell them something about the West, but they do not necessarily use this information in forming their knowledge about it. One interviewee from the first group, who did not find advertisements reflecting anything about the West, explained why:

> If I want to construct my views about the West, it would be from watching a movie or reading an investigative report on it, but not through ads. For example, when I read a popular Western magazine and see an ad for some kind of medicine, I think that the people's knowledge about medicine is higher than ours. Or if read the public letters to the doctor in a magazine and how the writers

use medical terms, it also shows me about their health knowledge. The ad itself does not tell me anything about Western women. But the ad can tell me something about the woman that is used in the ad-that, for example, she has high morals and is thoughtful, whereas the other woman [in the Versace ad] has low morals. (Interviewee # 3).

Another woman echoed this view:

> I can't judge Western women by these models, because they [the models] are carefully chosen. This selection is very important, because they are being shown world-wide. Movies have a greater effect on how I construct my view about the women, They tell me about their lives and the way they act. (Interviewee # 6).

Other women remarked:

> We learn about them not through stories of their lives. The preparations they take for shooting an ad and the way they shoot it and the make-up that they use in their ads make the ad unnatural-it's artificial. (Interviewee # 12).

Another interviewee said:

> TV shows and movies help create my view about the West.... In the ads they always show the Western woman as very dedicated to her beauty, whereas there are many who do not care. I got this [latter] view not because I dealt with them, but even their shows and movies show them as people who put their work and homes first, or maybe homes second. The ads give a wrong view about them. They always show the girls who are at an age when they don't have families and responsibilites.

> They show them wearing the latest fashions, very animated and with no worries. (Interviewee # 8).

The second group, on the other hand, was more open in looking at an advertisement, allowing some of the information presented in the ad to confirm their ideas of the West. One interviewee in this group had this to say:

> [Ads tell me] about their clothes and the kind of food they eat. Their clothes are very simple and their food is also simple and light [because they are thin]. (Interviewee # 2).

Other women remarked:

> It is not the ad that constructs my view about the Western woman. But it can remind me of my view and in some cases confirm it. For example, some of these ads remind me of the simplicity of the Western woman. It might confirm for me about the freedom she has. (Interviewee # 4).

> The western woman is not the woman in the ad.... The ads might help in constructing my views about the West, but they are not an important [source]. Going there and living there helped me. Also, we construct our views through TV, movies, newspapers, and magazines, But television is number one, especially news. (Interviewee # 7).

> The Western women have more freedom than we do. I can tell this from certain poses or certain clothing [they show in the advertisement]. (Interviewee # 8).

Because the interviewees come from upper-middle class, they all had the opportunity to visit some Western countries and see the people there. This has affected how they perceive the Western women in the ad and their

views on Western ads. For both groups, Western advertisements do not present new information about the West. Even if advertisers tried to present new information, the women would be unlikely to accept it, because the ads are viewed as artificial and commercialized- "they are trying to sell us something." Therefore, based on these interviews, advertisements can be looked at as marginal tools for constructing Kuwait women's knowledge about the West and not a conduit-unlike movies and news. It is interesting to note that with both groups there is a discernment about the appropriate medium for forming their views about the West and the Western, woman.

In sum, from the perspective of the people I interviewed, it is clear that they are able to determine the origin of the ad from the quality of the print, the composition, and the model. The women appear to dissociate themselves from Arabic ads, even if the product is Western (e.g. cream 21). They saw the images in these ads reflecting other Arab societies but not that of Kuwait.

This perspective proves that in order for Arabic ads to compete with Western ads advertisers must invest heavily in the quality, composition, and appearance of the ad to match what the West is offering. Thus, we can say that for Arabic advertisers to succeed, "professionalism becomes imitation": (Golding, 1997). Because local advertisements are being shown alongside Western ads in Kuwaiti magazines, the Western ads are used as a yardstick to look at the Arabic ads. As Mattelart et al. (1984) expresses it, when there is interaction between local and American images in non-Western countries, the local image "nourishes the memory" of the American image industry. The authors further assert that the significance and meaning of an image is not solely based on the reality perceived but on the people's exposure to other images. As we have seen in the case of Kuwait, the meaning and the significance derived from the Western image

was based on the relationship the Kuwait woman saw between the images and her society, in which there is widespread acceptance and consumption of Western products.

C. "We Kuwaitis" vs. the Others

In this section I will look further into the relation between the images of the West and how the Kuwaiti women perceive themselves and society. The above two sections cleary show that reading advertisements is an active process and that the meaning of an ad goes beyond what it is trying to sell the Kuwaiti women. The information gained from the ads is constantly being negotiated in relation to the social context of Kuwait and its traditions, as the women decide what is compatible with and their society. This act of negotiation sets a limit to the extent of Western "imitation" that many of the interviewees saw occurring in Kuwaiti society in various degrees. Without my asking, they attempted to construct images of themselves and their society by pairing what they perceived as being Western traits with what they see in their own social reality. This goes along with what Carrier (1995) points out: recent studies in anthropology suggest that people in non-Western countries often develop their self-image by contrasting themselves with images of the West.

When looking at Western Advertising images not only do the Kuwaiti women see their own society in them but they also see the consumption style of people in their society and what this in turn tells them about their society. Many saw Kuwaiti society as an imitator of the West and Kuwaitis solely as consumers of what the West has to offer. This concept of imitation points to a perceived superiority of the West in the minds of the Kuwaiti women, especially with regard to fashion and style. The women definitely see the West as the center and authority for fashion, as one woman affirmed: "You couldn't even find two people who would disagree that the West is the center for fashion" (Interviewee # 13). The prevalence

of Western images through ads and other media channels and the spread of Western products in the Kuwaiti market no doubt play a role in confirming this superiority of the West as well as legitimizing and normalizing taste in Western products.

Even though the women are imitating Western culture, they claim to be evaluating carefully what they take and negotiating whether it fits into their society. Surprisingly, their view of themselves was different from their view of others in society, whom they labeled as blind imitators of the West. Therefore we can say that in the process of negotiating these advertised images, they are understanding who they are and shaping what they want to be and at the same time distancing themselves from other Kuwaiti women. As one interviewee explains:

> Over here [Kuwait], we only watch and buy. Things are ready made for us.... We eat what they eat and wear what they wear. Even when we travel to their countries we take up their way of life. Knowing that they are the originators of something, I would use it freely. But when they come to our country they still hold on to their way of life.... We exaggerate, in the way we dress, the way we use accessories. We go to work in the morining wearing some things that are for evenings. All this [exaggeration] is just looks-complicated looks. The Western woman-she takes everything casually and lives a simple life. She would wear a t-shirt because it does the job. But I should point out that not everything the Western women wears the Kuwaiti woman or the Arab woman can wear, because society will look at her in a different way. (Interviewee # 2).

Another woman added:

> The Western woman is definitely different. Over there anything goes. Over here everything has to be within certain limits. Also, their environment is different from ours; their morals are different. Religion... We have one. To be honest, I love them. Even if they are different and their morals and traditions are different we still love them. That's why we imitate them in the way they dress, and we buy their products through their advertisements in our magazines.... [I]n our society when it comes to dress we think about it too much; we think too much about our looks.... But there they have simplicity and freedom, and everything is OK. (Interviewee # 5).

An unmarried woman explained that the result of imitating the West are as appealing even for their men:

> Because our girls imitating them [Western models], even our men are convinced about these images of women and want us to be this way. (Interviewee # 8).

Another woman admitted the general extent of the imitation but believed Kuwaitis were still different from the West:

> We have become a follower society for such things as Versace and Chanel, and those who can afford it and those who can't all follow the fashions. Yet, no matter how much we try to imitate them, we still remain different-even if we wear what they wear. (Interviewee # 13).

It is apparent from the interviewee's remarks that Kuwaiti women, even those who cannot afford Western fashion products, are not only

highly conscious of their appearance but have adopted high fashion mode of dress. They see Western women, in contrast, as "casual" and "simple" in their appearance and admire them for it. Simplicity, is the one characteristic that most of the interviewees saw projected though the ads-and this also conforms with the picture they had about Western women even when they observed them in their travels to Western countries. The women were using the word "simple" with the connotation "natural," implying freedom from artificiality and unnecessary elaborateness, especially in the way Western women are seen by Kuwaiti as living their lives.

In ads "naturalness" is often equated with tropical or untouched regions where people are living together in harmony with nature. As Williamson (1996) argues, in advertising, the image of "naturalness" is employed by the capitalist to represent the Others-the non-Westerners. As in its earlier days, capitalism still exploits others. These images, she continues, show people being more "natural" than Westerners, yet in reality these Others are being continually destroyed by the colonization of Europeans and now by American capitalism. In the case of Kuwaiti, however, this picture is reversed. Ironically, it is the capitalists themselves, in the perspective of my interviewees, who are seen as "natural." My assumption is that, although they talk a great deal about traditions and values, people in Kuwaiti are in search of a clear "identity." Their society radiates different and sometimes confliciting messages about how Kuwaiti and how Moslem they are, and how Western they are becoming (e.g., the increasing numbers wearing the Islamic dress and at the same time the increasing numbers of those wearing jeans-both men and women). We can also understand this urge for simplicity when we see the widwepread social pressure for a "stylized" appearance that very often becomes exaggerated, wiping out any suggestion of simplicity or naturalness. Therefore, some Kuwaitis find in

the images of the West an oasis that reflects what they are missing in real life-being :natural" or simple.

The imitation of Kuwaiti women is cleary not blind. They are "selective imitators" - that is, their consumption is not as all-embracing as it might sound. Their decisions about which images to consume are constantly being evaluated and re-evaluated against their cultural trasition. As McCraken remarks, imitation is "a culturally purposeful activity" (p. 100). This is clear from the contiual appeal to culture and traditions: as the authority on whether or not to adopt a certain image. As one woman expressed it:

> Our tradition and way of life do not permit us to take up everything the West offers us. We can't do that in the name of "modernity" -we can only take from them up to acertain limit. (Interviewee # 2).

Another woman added:

> True, in buying any of their fashions I am following them. But I do not follow their revealing fashions-I choose what works for me. (Interviewee # 8).

A third woman explained:

> the West is the center of the latest fashion. Sometimes I try their latest [and] sometimes I don't. We have our traditions in our society and they control what choose.... [O]ver here in our society we think about the socity we live in and the people we deal with. Over there [the West] anything goes; they don't worry about what others think of them, And this, honestly is, interesting to me. They wear anything. You might see one going out in her nightgown and not thinking twice that someone would see her. (Interviewee # 5).

Barthel remarks that "fashion... places the transitory above the everlasting; it frees individuals to present themselves as they please, irrespective of any prior ascribed identities" (p. 4). In other words, fashion allows people to change their image and value "what's new" above tradition. Yet this view does not seem to hold in a "conservative" society relative to the West. It was echoes in the interviews that religion, tradition, and culture are still used to guard against or confine people's adoption of Western fashion. They "neither rejected nor embraced the West outright, but saw in it things of worth and things to be scorned" (Carrier, 1995, p. 27). Even when it was said that "I could adopt what is appopriate for me," the "me" is not free to do what it likes but is bound by culture. As one woman confessed, when traveling to Western countries she becomes more lenient about what she wears, and that is true of many Kuwaiti women. But in their own society, they are more mindful of tradition. In a small country such as Kuwait, any conflicting or extreme action in the way one dresses could spark words that far outlive the action.

Iv. Conclusions

Even though Kuwaiti readers might enjoy being exposed to Western images, this exposure is not as straightforward as it might sound. As

we have seen, when the Kuwaiti women are exposed to these images, they are also being connected to "a larger set of cultural ideas" about themselves and others (Lutz and Collins, 1993). Among these cultural ideas are: looking at Arabic ads as less creative and lower in quality, seeing women in their society as imitators, having a facination with the simplicity the West allegedly enjoys that they lack, and giving themselves credit for being selective consumers of Western products. Thus we could say that, for Kuwaitis, the West is not just a region on the map with which they have economic relations but a region with they share, consciously or unconsciously, a deeper relationship that goes beyond the mere consumption

of Wester products to the way their sense of identity is partly bound up with those products and partly comes from looking at themselves in relation to the West.

This study highlights the importance of Western images in the daily life of Kuwaiti women. Although my study does not include different social levels, the people I interviewed claim that others in society are consumers of these images just as much as they are. The trend for Western products has been observed and discussed in the popular press, especially since the Gulf War. Even the majority of those who wear the Islamic dress, neqqab, belong to this consumption pattern. Kuwait is a perfect example of the consuming society, despite its diversity. The Kuwaitis' style of consumption of Wester products and the interviewees' reading of advertised images prompt us to look at these findings from a wider perspective which sheds light on two important concepts: "imperialism" and "globalization." These concepts are often used when looking at other cultures, especially non-Western cultures, to understand the economic and cultural power relations between and among countries and consequently the audience reception of Western images there.

It is tempting to use the first concept, "imperialism," to explain what is taking place in Kuwait, yet, as we shall see, it falls short. Schiller (1976) defines cultural imperialism as:

> The sum of the processes by which a society is brought into modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometiems bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating center of the system (p. 9).

Normally, "imperialism" suggests one culture imposing its political

and economic power and its cultural ideologies and values on a weaker culture. In the present study imperialism could easily be said to exist in Kuwait because most of the ads in Osrati are produced in the West with Western-looking models, local distributors are dependent on Western cooperation to get these ads, and the market is saturated with Western products, consequently reinforcing the idea that the West is the center for the latest products and fashions. The "imitation" of the West that was mentioned by the interviewees as happening in Kuwait could also point to imperialism. Yet the evidence of the interviews challenges the idea of cultural imperialism, as we shall now explore.

If we label the use of Western ads and the imiation of the West as "imperialist," then we will view the West as having somehow forced its products on defenseless and undiscriminating Others. Yet this is clearly not true. There is a parallel to mattelart, Delcourt, and Mattelart's (1984) warning about taking a position of anti-Americanism in their study if the flow of U.S. films and TV programs: that it fails to recognize why Western products and imagery are popular, and it rules out the possibility that the Others might use these Western products "for alternative and more progressive cultural ends" (p. 6). The Kuwaiti interviewees had a sense of appreciation for these ads, not because they wanted to keep up with the Western world but because they have an inner need to be aware of what is new, to feel stylish, and have others see them as being in style. It is these kinds of personal ends that an imperialist perspective would miss. The Kuwaiti women co-opt Western advertisements.

Lull (1995) affirms that "people choose, combine, and circulate media representations and other cultural forms in their everday communicative interactions and in doing so produce meaning...." (p. 140). "Imperialism" says that all images received from the West are treated equally by non-Westerners, failing to acknowledge that people are selective in what they

choose and have purposes for choosing it. But as we have seen, the women interviewed placed different values on and credibility in imaged according to were the image was shown-whether in films, advertisements, TV programs, or news media. Most importantly, the idea of "imposition" that is suggested in the concept of imperialism ignores people's values and traditions which, as the interviewees suggested, act as a screen to intrusive and foreign idea. It also ignores the measures taken by the country to protect its culture-for example, censorship. Hence, we can say that the concept of imperialism fails in understanding the interviewees' reception of the ads.

Going on to Tomlinson (1991), he suggests that we live in "new times" that could no longer be described as "imperialism" but "globalization." He claims that today there is a new configuration of power that is a "far less coherent or culturally directed process" than imperialism (p. 175). He describes globalization as the

> interconnection and interdepency of all global areas which happen in a far less purposeful way [than imperialism did]. [Globalization] happens as the result of economic and cultural practices which do not, of themselves, aim at global intergration, but which nonetheless produce it. More importantly, the effects of globalization are to weaken the cultural coherence of all individual nation-states, including the economically powerful ones-the "imperialist powers" of a previous era. (p. 175).

Examining my findings with this definition in mind, I will look at Tomlinson's "interconnectedness" as being on the micro level and "global intergration" as having more to do with the macro level. We can see that the "interconnectedness" - or perhaps it is the "illusion" of interconnectedness-is being reached, at least in advertising, though "universalism" -

which Tomlinson (1991) defines as attempting to represent a particular as the universal and in the process denying or ignoring cultural differences that the Other might claim. Yet it could only be the advertisers who are hoping to have achieved universalism and in a certain sense thay have achieved it. The Kuwaitis are interconnected with the West by consuming the same products, seeing the same images in ads, and we can add having the same information at around the same time about what is in style. Yet they have a shrewd perspective on what they are reading and buying. For example, they knew that the images in the ads did not show them the "real" West or the "real" Western women but were artificial settings. Still, the images in the ads are clearly still seen as Western, althought disconnested from their origin in the West. Paradoxically, the images are Western and universal at the same time.

It seems to me that Western researchers looking at Western images, especially TV images, in non-Western countries often tend to see a clear trace that connects these images to the West. Yet in the case of my interviews, the trace of Western images left by advertisements moving to Kuwait lightens or almost disappears, and its connection with the West is not as deep and clear as traces left by images from other mass-media channels such as news and films. When looking at advertisement images, the interviewees did not give "ideological readings" (Katz and Liebes, 1990). Their ideological reading could have included the manipulative power of Western countries, or even local agents' conscious use of Western ads. But that was not the case. The interviewees' not providing any ideological reading might be related to the fact that ads are seen in Kuwait as apolitical, and perhaps being aware that the ad is trying to sell them something give them the impression that they are immune to any influence that might be communicated through the ads. It would be worth contrasting this finding with a study of whether the audience would give an ideological reading when in-

terpreting images from the other media outlets, which, according to them, give "realistic" images about the West.

Did the Western ads in the cultural and economic context of Kuwaiti society play a role in Tomlinson's "global intergration"? Clearly, something is being integrated on the global level, but one should be careful about what it is. In this case it is mainly markets. Globalization could be said to be occurring when we consider how many upper-class Kuwaiti women who go to Western countries and get their fashions before they are disseminated in Kuwait's market. Yet one should not assume, as Tomlinson does, that cultures folow markets. Western and Kuwaiti culture are not being intergrated, despite the fact that Kuwaitis are using the same products as the West. Because of their values and traditions, Kuwaitis are negotiating limits on what they absorb from other cultures; they have a social consciousness of what is appopriate for them within their culture. The globalization model presented by Tomlinson overlooks the role of values and traditions in limiting global intergration and interconnectedness, and in general the globalization dialog has focused on such issues as consumer and industrial market, neglecting the human dimension (Sherry, 1995). If we restore that dimension, we will see that there is more to globalization than buyings appearances. It is the paradoxical feeling of being connected to the Other and at the same time owning its images. At one level, people feel that the Western ads reflect Kuwaiti society, but when they talk about using these products, there is a sense of imitation of the West which limits any concept of the global. This leads me to conclude that fashion should be looked at as Westernization rather than globalization. And because Kuwaitis seem to be fully aware of what they are doing, it is a "self-imposed imperialism." At the same time, Kuwaitis are hanging on to at least some of their own values and ideals, especially religious ones. The globalization of culture has a long way to go.

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